A VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES;

CONTAINING

AUTHENTIC Accounts of the MOGUL Government in general, the Viceroyalties of the DECAN and BENGAL, with their ſeveral ſubordinate Dependances.

OF

ANGRIA, the MORATTOES, and TANJOREANS.

OF THE

MAHOMETAN, GENTOO, and PARSEE RELIGIONS.

OF THEIR

CUSTOMS AND ANTIQUITIES,

With general Reflections on the

TRADE OF INDIA.

OF THE

EUROPEAN Settlements, particularly thoſe belonging to the ENGLISH; their reſpective Factories, Governments, Trade, Fortifications and Public Buildings: The Hiſtory of the War with the FRENCH from 1754 to the Concluſion of the general Peace in 1763.

By Mr. GROSE, John Henry

IN TWO VOLUMES.

A NEW EDITION.

Illuſtrated with Views and ſeveral Plans, not in the former Edition.

To which is added,

A Journey from ALEPPO to BUSSERAH, over the Deſert, by Mr. CHARMICHAEL.

LONDON:
Printed for S. HOOPER, at No. 25, Ludgate Hill.

M. DCC. LXXII.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE former Edition of this Work having met with a favourable reception from the Public, the Editor has been encouraged to enlarge it, by the addition of ſeveral new Plans, and has likewiſe added, by way of Appendix, the Journal of Mr. Charmichael over the Deſert, from Aleppo to Buſſerah; which, from the many neceſſary informations, and judicious remarks, will be both an uſeful and entertaining Companion to thoſe who may have occaſion to make that journey, and be the means of procuring further inſight into the ſituation and remains of thoſe antient Cities, mentioned in Sacred Hiſtory.

It may be ſatisfactory to the reader, to know ſomething of Mr. Charmichael; I ſhall therefore acquaint him, that he was in the ſervice of the Eaſt India Company at Bombay, where having ſome diſputes with the Governor and Council, he came

over

over to England, in order to lay his complaints before the Court of Directors, leaving his affairs in India unsettled.

His conduct was so much disapproved, that instead of meeting with redress, he was dismissed the service; and on his application for leave to go back, in order to settle his affairs, was refused a passage on board any of the Company's ships.

This occasioned him to take the journey over the Desert. On his arrival in India, he entered into the service of one of the country Powers; and after meeting with many adventures, and experiencing great vicissitudes of fortune, he at last died in distress at Surat.

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A GLOS-

A

GLOSSARY, OR EXPLANATION,

OF

PERSIAN, MOORISH, and INDIAN Names mentioned in this WORK.

A.

Amdanny,	IMPORTS.
Arzdaſht, or Argee,	A petition.
Aſſammees,	Dealers in different branches of trade.

B.

Bang,	An intoxicating juice of a vegetable.
Banka Bazar,	Formerly the Oſtend factory.
Batta,	An extraordinary allowance to the army in the field, or where garriſon proviſions are ſcarce.
Begum,	Princeſs; meaning without care.
Betel,	A leaf, ſomewhat like that of a kidney-bean, growing on a vine in the ſame manner, and commonly uſed by all degrees of people; who chew it mixed with Chinam and the Betel-nut, which is the produce of a different plant.
Bootans,	The inhabitants of Aſſam.
Bramin,	A prieſt.
Buckſerrias,	Foot-ſoldiers, whoſe common arms are only ſword and target.
Buckſhee, or Buxey,	Treaſurer to the Mogul, or paymaſter of troops.
Bundar,	A Cuſtom-houſe.

C.

Cawn, or Khan,	A title of dignity.
Chinam, or Chunam,	Lime, fine and unſlacked.
Chop,	A ſmall ſeal, on which is engraved the name of the Mogul, and the year of the Hegyra.

Choultry,

Choultry,	An open houfe for all travellers.
Chout,	A fourth part; but commonly ufed for the tribute exacted by the Morattoes.
Chowkeys,	Or Chokeys, Barriers or turnpikes; or the guards at the ftairs, or landing-places.
Chubdaar,	An ufher.
Circar,	See Sircar.
Coffres, or Caffres,	Negroes brought to India from Africa, and trained up as foldiers by the Europeans.
Colleries,	Inhabitants of the woods, under the government of the Polygars.
Cooley,	A porter, or laborer of any kind.
Corore, or Crore,	Of rupees, an hundred lack, or near 1,250,000 l. fterling. See lack.
Cofs, or Corfe.	A meafure of diftance from two miles to two and half.
Coffid,	A foot-meffenger, or poft.
Cowle,	A protection.

D.

Dawgahs,	Or Darugahs, Cuftom-houfe officer, or collectors.
Decoyt,	A robber.
Dewan,	King's treafurer.
Dewanny,	Superintendency over the royal revenues.
Dooley,	A woman's chair, like a fedan.
Dummadah,	A river.
Durbar,	The court, or council, of a Mogul prince.
Duffutary,	An impoft of ten per cent.
Duftuck,	An order.

F.

Firman,	Or Phirmaund, A patent figned by the Mogul; a royal mandate, or grant.
Fouzdar, Fowj'dar,	Or Phoufdar, A governor, military officer, or renter.

Gentoo,

G.

Gentoo, or Zentoo,	Native Indians, who remain in a ſtate of idolatry.
Gomaſtah,	A broker, factor, or agent.
Gunge,	Grain-market.
Gwallers,	Carriers of Palanquins.

H.

Hackeries,	Carts or coaches drawn by oxen.
Harkarahs,	Spies.

J.

Jageer, Jaghire,	Or Jaqueer, A territory or diſtrict, granted as a mark of honor, or allotted as a penſion.
Jaggernaut,	The Gentoo pagoda.
Jemidar, Jemmautdaar, or Zemidar.	Officers of horſe or foot, of the ſame rank with the Roman centurion: ſometimes it implies people of rank employed about the principal perſons in the government.

K.

Khan,	See Cawn.
Killedar,	The governor of a fort.
Kiſtbundee,	Times of payment of the country revenues.

L.

Lack of rupees,	About 12,500 l. ſterling. See Corore.

M.

Mackulka,	An obligation with a penalty annexed.
Maund,	A groſs weight between 70 and 80 pounds: but variable in different places; for at Surat it is only 37 pounds one half.
Moonſhee,	Or Moonſkee, A Perſian ſecretary.
Moories,	Writers.

Moors,

Moors,	The Mahometans of India; but they are improperly ſo denominated.
Muchulcas,	Bonds of obligations.
Muſnud,	The throne of an Indian Prince.
Muxadabad, Muckſadabad,	Or Moorſhadabad, The capital of Bengal.

N.

Nabob, or Navob,	A governor of a province, appointed by the Soubah. See Soubah.
Naib, or Neabut,	A deputy to the governor of a place.
Nobut,	A drum, or mark of royalty aſſumed by the Soubahs of Bengal.

O.

Omrahs,	Privy-counſellors to the Mogul, and men of the firſt rank in the empire.

P.

Paddy,	Rice in the huſk.
Paddy-grounds,	Rice-fields.
Pagoda,	An Indian temple.
Pagoda,	An Indian coin, worth ſeven ſhillings and eight pence ſterling.
Palankeen,	A kind of canopy-bed for travelling.
Paragana,	A diſtrict of country.
Parſees,	Worſhippers of fire.
Patamar,	A meſſenger, or poſt.
Peons,	Foot ſoldiers armed with a broadſword, or a match-lock.
Pergannahs,	Villages.
Perwannah,	A letter, order, or command; and ſometimes a grant from the prince.
Pettah,	The town ſurrounding an Indian fort.
Phirmaund, Phouſdar.	See Firman and Fouzdar.
Podor, or Shroffs,	A money-changer.
Polygar,	The Lord of a diſtrict.
Pondary, Foorea,	Farmers diſtinct allowances on grain at the Gunge.

Ponſways,

Ponſways,	Guard-boats.
Pettahs,	Grants.
Pykes,	Officers relative to the ſervice of the lands.

R.

Raja,	The higheſt title claimed by the Gentoo princes.
Royran,	The king's officer for receiving the revenue.
Rafftanny,	Exports.
Rumnah,	Diſtrict for the royal game.
Rupee, or Roupee,	A ſilver coin, about two ſhillings and five pence ſterling.

S.

Saneds, or Sunnuds,	Grants, or commiſſions from the Mogul, Soubahs or Nabobs.
Sardar,	An officer of horſe.
Seapoys, or Sepoys,	Indian foot ſoldiers, hired and diſciplined by Europeans.
Seer,	A meaſure, forty of which is a Maund. See Maund.
Shroff,	A banker. See Podor.
Siccas,	Coin of the country.
Sircar,	A general name for the government, or perſons concerned in the adminiſtration.
Sirpah,	A rich dreſs of the country, beſtowed by the government as a mark of diſtinction on particular perſons.
Soubah, Soubahdar,	Or Suba, The viceroy of the Deckan, or of Bengal.
Sunnuds,	See Saneds.

T.

Tank,	A pond, or pool of water.
Tanka,	The revenue appropriated by the Mogul for maintaining a fleet at Surat.
Tankſal,	A mint for coinage.

Telinga,

Telinga, Telingas,	The Carnatic country; and soldiers raised there, or sepoys, sometimes called Tellingas.
Tom-Toms,	Drums.
Topasses,	A tawney race of foot soldiers, descended from Portuguese marrying natives, and called Topasses; because they wear hats.
Tunkahs,	Assignments upon lands; or rents assigned to the company.
Tuzsaconna, Ginanah,	Wardrobe and seraglio.

V.

Vakeel, or Vaqueel,	An English agent or resident at the Nabob's court: also an agent or minister for the Moors.
Vizerut,	The grant for the Vizirship.

Z

Zemin,	Ground.
Zemindary,	An officer to take care of the rents arising from the public lands.
Zentoo,	See Gentoo.

THE

A

VOYAGE

TO THE

EAST-INDIES.

BOOK I.

The Author's voyage from ENGLAND *to* BOMBAY.

CHAP. I.

Voyage from the Downs *to* Johanna. *Account of ſome ſea-fiſh: the flying-fiſh; bonitos; albacore; dorado; ſhark; ſucking-fiſh; pilot-fiſh; yellow-tails. Account of ſome ſea-birds; the tropic-birds; albatroſſes; noddies; and boobies. Account of a water-ſpout.*

IT was in the ſtation of a covenant ſervant, and writer to the Eaſt-India company, that, in the month of March 1750, I embarked on board one of the company's ſhip's, named the Lord Anſon, Charles Foulis, commander, bound for Bombay and China; at the former of which places, I was to be left under the diſpoſition of that preſidency.

By ſuch as are on the point of commencing travellers, on the ſea, eſpecially upon a voyage, in which ſo long intervals occur between land and land, the following general hint will not, I hope, be thought impertinent. They will then certainly find their account, in framing, before they are embarked, a liſt of ſuch neceſſaries, as they may probably want in the courſe of the paſſage, concerning which, they will do well to take the advice of ſuch as have been the like voyage before, and who, by their own knowledge and experience, will be beſt qualified to inform them, not only of the moſt material requiſites, but even of ſundry little items, which to name here might ſeem trifling, and of which the miſs however is ſerious, when out at ſea, where it is not often eaſy to repair one's improvidence.

Another caution, too, as trite a repetition as it may appear, I am induced not to omit re-inculcating, for having obſerved it commonly neglected: and that is, for ſuch as have reaſon to apprehend the ſea-ſickneſs, not to go on board with a full ſtomach: not that even, by this means, ſuch as are liable to it, will wholly eſcape it; but ſo much is certain, that they will be affected in a leſs violent degree. And when under the influence of it, as it is neceſſary to eat and drink, not only to ſupport nature, but to avoid the dangers of over-ſtraining and reachings of an empty ſtomach, the lighteſt, and moſt digeſtible foods, are the moſt preferable.

On the 30th of March 1750, we ſailed out of the Downs, in company with four Eaſt-Indiamen; but as there nothing occurs material to be remarked of theſe our conſorts, ſome of whom ſoon after parted company, I ſhall ſay no more of them.

We were then ſoon out of ſight of Britiſh land, and got into the main-ocean; and as it could

could be but tiresome to the reader unversed in navigation, and superfluous for one who understood it, to be detained by a dry uninteresting journal of winds, courses, and the like common occurrences at sea, I shall only offer those points which are of a more general nature, to the curiosity of the reader: and even then have an apology to make for the unavoidable repetition of descriptions, with which a number of travellers, who have preceded me in this subject, seem to have exhausted it. All the novelty then that can possibly be expected, in a voyage now so common and well known, must arise from the different points of view, in which nature presents the same objects to different persons, or at least often, so as to afford some new light to be thrown upon them.

As the fishes then form no small part of the entertainment, in the course of the passage, I shall begin with them, just premising, that besides the usual tackle of lines, and hooks of all sizes, there are no ships on those voyages, but are equipped with a competent number of harpoons or fish-gigs. This is a long staff, armed at one end with a cluster of well tempered iron prongs, which being barbed hinder the fish, on being struck with it, from flouncing off. The other end is heavily cased, or wrapped round with lead, so that when delivered from the striker's hand, with a line to it that runs the length of the staff, it serves, by its weight, to cant the fish upmost, in a position the most favorable to bring it on board.

The flying-fish, are most generally seen within the tropics, or in the latitudes near them. Their size is, commonly speaking, that of a large herring, to which they have some resemblance. The over-proportioned size of their side-fins, countenance very clearly the opinion of their being assisted by them, in the spring they make out of the

water, on being purſued by the larger fiſhes of prey; as thoſe fins continuing ſpread muſt naturally gather ſome air. But I much doubt, whether what is called their flight is not more properly an extended leap (like that of the flying-ſquirrels on ſhore, to whom the expanſion of a membraneous fold, that makes part of the ſkin of their hind legs, ſerves for a kind of wings) and that their neceſſity of replunging into the water, is not ſo much owing to their fins drying, in ſo ſhort a ſpace as 25 or 30 yards, and requiring wetting afreſh, as to the force of their ſpring being ſpent. There are many fiſh, beſides them, that take very conſiderable leaps out of the water, though not of ſuch a length as they do, from their ſide-fins not being ſo well adapted for a continuance of a motion compounded of flying and leaping. So far is certain, that they have no guidance from their ſight, but are urged headlong onward by a mechanical impulſe, inſomuch, that they not unfrequently fall into ſhips, and eſpecially in the chains, which being lower than any part of the gunnel, ſtop, and receive them. They are a very well-taſted fiſh, and often ſeen in great ſhoals, flying from the purſuit of the Bonitos, Albacores, and Dorados, whoſe choice prey they ſeem to be, very few of thoſe fiſhes being caught, without ſome of them being found in their ſtomachs, and accordingly the beſt baits for thoſe ſpecies are an imitation of the flying-fiſh, which being ſwung to-and-fro, repreſent their flight, ſo as to deceive and bring them greedily to the hook. Nor does this fiſh find enemies only in its own element; for ſeveral ſea birds, watch hovering for its emerſion, and dart down on it, with ſuch quickneſs, as to make it their prey, before its re-plunge, ſo that it ſuffers a fatal perſecution in both elements.

It was not till about the latitude of thirty, that we ſaw and caught ſeveral Bonitos, a fiſh of the ſize of a middling ſalmon, to which it is not unlike, but rather thicker for its length. This fiſh undoubtedly takes its name, from its reliſhing ſo well to the taſte of the Portugueze, the firſt navigators on this ocean, that they called it Bonito, which anſwers in our tongue to delicious. Not that, in effect, it is remarkably ſo; but very probably, was ſo welcome to the firſt captors of it, perhaps on the dearth of freſh meals, that they honored it with that appellation, which has continued to it ever ſince. It is a very firm, and not unpleaſant fiſh; but rather dry, and requiring a rich ſauce, to entitle it to its name: though dryneſs is a reproach that in ſome degree belongs, generally ſpeaking, to thoſe ſpecies, that may properly be called ocean-fiſh: to which it is no contradiction to obſerve, that they are ſometimes taken near the land. The Bonito feeds upon all ſmall fiſh, eſpecially the flying-fiſh, with the imitation of which they are often caught, and often ſtuck with the fiſh-gig.

The Albacore, is another fiſh of much the ſame kind as the Bonito; but grows to a larger ſize, ſome being taken eſpecially by the hook, from ſixty to ninety pounds weight and upward. The name of this fiſh too is taken from the Portugueze, importing its white color. They are rather drier eating than the Bonito. For the reſt, their prey, and method of catching them is the ſame, and both are at certain ſeaſons infeſted with a worm, that makes them in an agony ſpring out of the water, ſo high as to fall into boats, when in the way of their leap.

With reſpect to the Dorado, it may be obſerved how difficult it is, for an appellation, when once fixed, however wrongfully applied, to be

ſhaken off, or corrected. It is no new, but certainly a juſt remark, that this fiſh is very improperly called a Dolphin, having not the leaſt reſemblance to the deſcription, or delineation of that fiſh, by authors, painters, or ſtatuaries. The Portugueze, however, gave it the name of Dorado, from its golden-like hue, which is the groundwork of a beautiful azure, that is blended with it: and, in truth, nothing can be imagined of a more lively gloſs than its colors, which however, on the fiſh being taken, fade off ſenſibly in a few minutes, adding one more ſtriking inſtance of the alterations produced by death in all the animated creation. This fiſh, which is caught exactly in the ſame manner as the Bonitos, or Albacores, their food being the ſame, is generally greatly preferred to them, in point of taſte. Their ſize is commonly about three or four foot, and delicately ſhaped; except that the head ſeems rather too large; though the chief bone of it, on diſſection, appears admirably modelled for a cut-water; and, indeed, they ſwim with an inconceivable rapidity.

Having however, as I conceive, very juſtly diveſted the Dorado of the appellation of Dolphin, the point is where to place it more properly; and I apprehend, that the fiſh now called Porpoiſes can only lay claim to it. Some however deny this, and inſiſt on the dolphin being a creature of the imagination, not only on the account of the fabulous properties, attributed to it by the antients, ſuch as taking the famous muſician Arion on its back, its tameneſs, and likings to human ſociety, of all which diſtinctions there exiſt at preſent no traces; but alſo in reſpect to the curve form, it, as preſerved in paintings and ſtatues, being different from the porpoiſe, which when taken, appears as ſtraight a fiſh as any that ſwims.

Without

Without presuming to decide the question, I can only say, that it can hardly be thought, that so many authors would have treated so currently of a species entirely non-existent, however some of them might mix the false and marvellous in their accounts of it: and as to the form, the difference arising from the curvature, is probably owing to its being constantly represented in the point of leaping, when either the eye is deceived by the quickness of the tumble, or the porpoise really bends the body, in a manner answerable to the usual delineation of the dolphin, which, with the similar projection of the snout from the head, seem to authorize in some degree the conjecture of the porpoise, being no other than the dolphin of the antients; at least, it is not so thoroughly different from the representation of it, as the dorado, the size of which besides is much too small, for its having any pretension to pass for it.

The shark, which is so common a fish near the land in several parts of the lower latitudes, is not unfrequently met with in the main-sea; but then it is chiefly in calms, or very light breezes, when it will follow a ship for a considerable time, unless betrayed to the hook by its natural voracity: for it is commonly too large to be mastered by a harpoon, or fish-gig. Any thing almost for a bait will serve; but it requires a strong hook to hold it; and those of the larger size, the noose of a running-tackle to bring them on board: where, as soon as they touch the deck, they make all shake again with the violent flounces of their tail, capable of breaking a man's leg: yet they are presently subdued by a cut of the ax on it, which deprives them instantly of all power, so that they are soon dispatched. The common length of this fish is from nine to fifteen feet; but I have been credibly informed, there are some of them of

twenty feet and upwards. It has no ſcales. The ſkin of it is rather rough, like ſhagreen, than very hard; of a deep brown, and ſomewhat greeniſh color, and whitening by degrees to the belly. One of them will generally make a meal for the whole ſhip's company; but then they are the ranker, in proportion to their ſize, and at beſt afford an indifferent repaſt: the fins only excepted, which though covered with a ſkin hard enough to be uſed as a ſlate to write on, when jerked, or dried in the ſun, afford however when prepared, according to the Chineſe cookery, a very delicate diſh. They cut them out in ſtrips, or rather filaments, which when ſeaſoned in their manner, are ſtewed into a tender griſtly ſubſtance, extreamly well-taſted, and is by them eſteemed one of thoſe rare provocatives to venery, that at once ſtimulate and ſtrengthen.

This fiſh muſt however have been much more effectually the terror of the ſeas, had nature endowed it with an agility, and diſpoſition of parts, anſwerable to that of its voracity, which is ſo eſpecially aſſiſted with a dreadful triple row of teeth, as ſharp as razors. But, beſides its not being the ſwifteſt ſwimmer, its mouth, by being placed conſiderably within the projection of its ſnout, towards the belly, obliges it to turn on its back, or at leaſt ſideways to ſnap at its prey, which it does ſo heavily, that good ſwimmers will, with a knife, either for diverſion, or for the ſake of ſhewing their ſkill, attack it in its own element, and diving under the belly, where the ſkin is very ſoft, rip it open, or oblige it to ſheer off. How they engender cannot be aſcertained; but it is certain, that the females are not only viviparous, the young ones being found alive in their bellies, when taken, but they occaſionally afford them a retreat in it, until they out-grow the ſize of wanting one.

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There is alſo another ſort of them, called the bottled-noſed ſharks, of a dark blueiſh hue: but of thoſe I never ſaw any caught; and being looked on as not fit to eat, they are rarely meddled with, unleſs purely for ſport.

This fiſh too has, like its name-ſakes the human ſharks, on the land, its dependents, or under-ſuckers, as well as its ſcouts or guides to its prey.

The ſucking-fiſh then aptly enough repreſents the firſt, being a ſmall fiſh, rarely above a foot long, and often much ſhorter. They faſten upon the ſhark, by the means of an oval-ſhaped membrane of a texture, admirably adapted for that purpoſe, with which they ſtick ſo cloſe to the ſkin of the ſhark, commonly on its ſides or back, as not to part with it, even when it is taken, and no ſtrength of hands can hardly ſeparate them, if pulled againſt the grain of the ſucker; but ſliding them on forward, with the grain, they eaſily enough come off; and this force of adheſion continues whilſt there is any life in them, as may be proved on applying them to a table, or any hard ſubſtance. It doubtleſs annoys the ſhark in the nature of vermin, drawing its ſuſtenance from the ſlimy oozing of its body, whilſt it can neither ſhake it off, nor come at it to deſtroy it. The gills of it are placed in an inverted poſition, opening upwards. It is of a dull muddy ſlate color, and of no uſe for food, having neither ſubſtance nor taſte.

The other ſpecies of attendants on the ſhark, are what is called pilot-fiſh, which ſome writers have confounded with the ſucking-fiſh, though of quite a different ſpecies; being perhaps one of the beautifulleſt fiſh that ſwims: ſeldom above a foot, or a foot and a half long, ſtreaked tranſverſally with blue, and a yellowiſh brown, that have a very pleaſing effect in the water, but loſe much of their lively gloſs when taken. Theſe fiſh are ofteneſt

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seen in small shoals, swimming immediately a-head of the shark, or near him. When a bait is thrown out for the shark, they cluster to it, without attempting to nibble themselves, but by their motions to and fro, seem to guide the shark towards it, from whence they derive their appellation of pilot-fish; when in company with the shark, they rarely take the small hook themselves; but when they have lost this their consort, or follow a ship, either singly or in shoals, they will then sometimes bite, and be caught. They are esteemed, for their size, the most delicious eating that the ocean affords, having nothing of that dryness reproachable to the other fish of it, as before observed.

There are also often caught, with the hook, or harpoon, a fish, called yellow-tails, from the color of that part, from one to three or four foot long. They are very eatable, but inferior in point of taste, and beauty of color to the dorados, which they otherwise much resemble in their make.

As the above-noted species of the fish-kind are what chiefly occur in the passage, I imagined, I could not without impropriety entirely omit them; and, for the same reason, shall just make a summary mention of the sea-birds, that are most commonly observed in the track of this navigation.

Near, or within the tropics, as the term imports, are often seen what are called tropic-birds: white, of the size of a large hawk: with nothing remarkable but a length of feather, that proceeds from their tails.

Albatrosses, which are met with more frequent as you approach the land, are a very large bird, and from their size, received from the Portugueze the name of Alcatruz, or Ostriches (having no other resemblance to that bird) from which by corruption is derived Albatross. These are the birds, which are the most cruel enemies to the flying-fish: and their beak is so sharp, that it enables them,

them, as they dart down on the wing upon any fish, they see on the surface of the water, to scoop out a piece of it, when too large to carry the whole away.

THE noddies and boobies, being of the size of a large duck, plainly receive their name from their sillinesss, in suffering themselves to be taken by the hand, as they perch upon the yards, or other parts of the ship: which cannot be from weariness, being web-footed. For the rest they are too tough, and fishy, to be eatable.

THURSDAY the 10th of May, we saw a water-spout, which burst very near us. Its first appearance resembled a black smoak, somewhat in the shape of an inverted pyramid. This is a body of water, collected between a cloud and the surface of the sea; but we had no occasion to fire at it, which is often done to dissipate it by the explosion. They are sometimes many minutes in falling, and irritate the water to that degree, as to produce a great ebullition and foam. If it bursts on the deck of a ship, it will go near to sink it, with the great weight of water, with which it is pregnant: but, I believe, there are few instances known of such an accident, this phenomenon being always in the day-time, and the danger easily avoided, by forcing its dispersion, or steering clear of it.

BESIDES that, and the common incidents of land-falls in our way, we had no remarkable occurrence, unless that on Thursday the 7th of June, as one Stedman, the carpenter's mate, was about some little jobb on one of the ship's sides, and being careless in his hold, a large wave came suddenly, and washed him into the sea; immediate notice of which being given to the captain, we brought to all standing, and threw over a large grating, and an empty cask, of the latter of which he luckily got hold, and the boat being expedi-

tiously

tiously hoisted out, and manned, they were just time enough to save him. Though he was allowed to be an excellent swimmer, the sea was so prodigiously rough, that he could scarce have kept a minute longer on the cask, without being washed off. We were going at the rate of seven knots, or miles, an hour, when this accident happened, which made the saving him a very hazardous point.

SATURDAY the 28th of July, we anchored happily in the road of Johanna, having been now near four months since our departure from the Downs.

CHAP. II.

The five COMRO *islands. Account of* JOHANNA. *View of it from the road. Boats come off, and their nature of dealing. Of the other four islands,* COMRO, MAYOTTA, MOHILLA, *and* ANGAZEJA. *Landing of the sick men for refreshment.—The town of* Johanna. *Of the founder of that government in the present family. Soil and trade. A trip into the country. The king goes on board the* ENGLISH *vessels. His subjects way of begging: their houses; diet; dress; treatment of infants; language, and religion. Their land and sea animals; their fruit. Departure from* Johanna: *and arrival at* BOMBAY.

THE view of this island to those on boardship in the road, is of itself so extreamly pleasant, as not to need the circumstance of its being a landing-place, after so long a run, to recommend it. The hills high, and covered with evergreens down to the water's edge, and disembosoming to the sea, in a delicious valley, altogether form one of the most pleasing landscapes that can be imagined;

imagined; nature there luxuriating into a romantic wildneſs, with which the eye, if not more delighted, is at leaſt leſs apt to be ſatiated, than with the tame inſipid regularity of art.

The ſhip was no ſooner anchored, than ſurrounded with a number of canoes, hurrying on board with refreſhments of all ſorts, of the produce of the iſland; and it was humorous enough to mark the confuſion, and ſtrife, among the rowers, who ſhould get firſt to their market, the ſhip. They are ſometimes overſet, when the ſea is any thing high: but, without any danger to their perſons, being excellent ſwimmers, and loſe only their little cargoes of green-trade. Theſe canoes are moſt of them ballanced on each ſide with out-leagers, compoſed of two poles each, with one acroſs, to prevent their overſetting. They uſe paddles inſtead of oars; and make no diſtinction of head or ſtern. Their larger boats, called panguays, are raiſed ſome feet from the ſides with reeds and branches of trees, well bound together with ſmall-cord, and afterwards made water-proof, with a kind of bitumen, or reſinous ſubſtance. The maſt, for few have more than one, carries a ſail or two, which is made either of coconut leaves, or ſheer-graſs matted together; and in theſe boats they will venture out to ſea, for trips of three or four weeks, and ſometimes longer.

It was common, not many years ago, for the natives who came off with refreſhments to the ſhips, ſuch as freſh coconuts, plantains, fowls, goats, &c. to deal entirely by way of barter, for handkerchiefs, rags, glaſs-bottles, bits of iron, in ſhort, all ſorts of frippery, without any reſpect to money. But of late they begin to know its value; and it is only the moſt inconſiderable articles, that they will now part with, in that manner; yet they

they ſtill afford every thing cheap enough, not to be repined at.

JOHANNA is one of the five Comro iſlands, which take their name from the largeſt iſland Comro, the other four being diſtinguiſhed by the names of Mayotta, Mohilla, Angazeja and Johanna. This laſt lies in the latitude of 12 degrees, fifteen minutes ſouth: all of them oppoſite to the African ſhore, between which, and the great iſland of Madagaſcar, is formed what is called the Mozambique-channel, from Mozambique a ſmall iſland belonging to the Portugueze, where they have a very conſiderable ſettlement, cloſe upon the continent, in the latitude of 14 ſouth.

COMRO, the largeſt iſland, is not at all frequented by the Europeans; becauſe it has no ſafe harbor, or roadſtead to it: beſides, the natives have the character of a barbarous, untractable people, that will ſuffer no commerce with ſtrangers. Perhaps too, not without reaſon: as it was common for the Portugueze eſpecially, in the early times of their navigating thoſe ſeas, to take the advantage of the ſimplicity of the inhabitants, unacquainted with arms, and incapable of defence, and land parties out of their veſſels, to rob, and commit all manner of outrages on the natives, not unfrequently carrying them away ſlaves; a procedure, which may have given them a traditional averſion to, and jealouſy of all ſtrangers in general: and very probably the revenge they might thereon take on the next comers, without diſtinction of the innocent, may have gained them that inhoſpitable character, which is to this day continued to them.

MAYOTTA, Mohilla, and Angazeja, are alſo little reſorted to, on account of the ſuperior advantages of Johanna, in the ſafety of its roadſtead; which, joined to the more civilized diſpoſition of its

its inhabitants, have nearly engroffed the cuftom of the Europeans touching there for refrefhments.

On a fhip's arrival, and anchoring on the weft fide of the ifland, where the road is; it is the common practice to pitch a tent afhore, made of the fails and fpare-booms, for the reception of the fick, who, though never fo much difabled with the fcurvy, generally recover their health furprizingly quick; as much doubtlefs by the fpecifically reviving influence of the earth itfelf, as even by the variety of excellent refrefhments, with which the country abounds, as oxen, goats, fowls, fruits, all admirable in their kinds, and the frefh water perfectly good. The danger is for the common failors, who arrive well and in health, left they fhould by their intemperance, efpecially in the raw fruits, contract, or lay foundations for diftempers to break out when they get to fea again.

It has been faid, that the lying afhore is prejudicial, on account of the moift vapors diffufed from the neighboring hills: but I rather think the unwholfomenefs to confift chiefly in the infufficiency of the lodgment under a tent, to refift the keennefs of the night air, and the damps of the atmofphere, rifing directly from the earth itfelf. This I fubmit to the judgment of the phyficians.

From the fpot where the tents are pitched, is about a mile's walk along fhore, to what is called the town of Johanna, to come at which you crofs over a fmall rivulet, very near it. This town, or more properly fpeaking, village, is compofed of about two hundred houfes and huts together. Thofe which being of ftone, may perhaps deferve the name of houfes, belong to the chief, who is honored with the title of king of Johanna, and to the principal men of the country. Their beft buildings, at leaft all that I faw, are but of one ftory, and even thofe very low. They fuffer ftran-

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gers to come in familiarly to their firſt apartment, all the others being reſerved for their families. The houſe where the king reſides is built of ſtone and mud, and does not make a figure ſuperior to a common Engliſh alms-houſe, being wretchedly furniſhed, aukwardly hung with pieces of coarſe chintz, with here and there a ſmall trumpery looking-glaſs. Yet with all this inferiority of parade and ſtate, in compariſon with what is ſeen in more extenſive and civilized dominions, the title of king is not ſo abſolutely improper to the chief of this iſland, which contains, on a groſs calculation, about thirty leagues in circuit, ſeventy-three villages, and near thirty thouſand inhabitants; he having all the eſſentials of royalty, an unlimitted power over his ſubjects, both in temporals and ſpirituals.

The grandfather of the preſent king, if I may then have leave to uſe that term, was an Arab, or Mooriſh trader to Mozambique, where, on a quarrel with a Portugueze fidalgo, or gentleman, with whom he was dealing for ſlaves on that coaſt, he had the fortune to kill his adverſary, and was thereon obliged inſtantly to fly, and put to ſea in the firſt boat he could ſeize on the ſhore, when the firſt land he made was Johanna, where he took refuge. Here meeting with an hoſpitable reception, he remained ſome years in obſcurity, until an Arab tranky being driven in there by ſtreſs of weather, he made himſelf known to his countrymen, for whom he procured all the relief the place afforded.

In the mean time he had ſo perfectly acquainted himſelf with the language and manners of the inhabitants, and was ſo captivated with the fertility and pleaſantneſs of the country, that he not only relinquiſhed every thought of returning to his own, but laid a ſcheme to obtain for himſelf the ſovereignty of this; in which he was greatly coun-

tenanced

tenanced and assisted by the Arabs his countrymen, who came into his views, for the advantage they expected to reap from his success.

He proceeded not on a plan of violence, but of insinuation, in making himself necessary to the natives, whom he instructed in the use of arms before unknown to them, especially the zagay or lance, which those of any consideration among them, now handle with dexterity. This then, with other methods of war which he taught them, entirely new to these simple savages, proving of singular service to them, against the inhabitants of the neighboring islands, especially of Mohila, with whom they had constant bickerings, sometimes invading, and sometimes invaded, acquired him such a consideration and authority, that he soon availed himself thereof, and procured himself to be elected their chief or king, and invested with a despotic power. Yet this was not obtained but by degrees, and by great art: themselves too being divided among one another. As soon, however, as he had carried his point, he made them repent of their credulity and confidence. For not only strengthening himself by calling in some of his countrymen with their families, but choosing for his guards the most bold and determined of the natives, he was presently in a condition to establish an arbitrary government. Such as endeavored to oppose him in his pretensions and innovations, he forced from their families, and sold for slaves to the Arabs; who, on this alteration, encreased their resort there for trade, which they still continue. In short, he succeeded so entirely, as to overcome all opposition, and to bequeath the peaceable sovereignty to his son, who was about forty three years of age, when this his father died, and who had no farther trouble or contestation with his subjects, until he also dying, a few years

ago, left two ſons, of whom the eldeſt is at preſent the governing chief.

WHEN a ſhip arrives, it is neceſſary to obtain his licence for dealing with the natives; eſpecially for the greater articles of refreſhments, ſuch as goats and oxen, as well as for wooding, watering, and landing the men: the permiſſion for which is however purchaſed at a very reaſonable expence, of a few preſents of ſome yards of ſcarlet cloth, a little gun-powder, a few muſkets, or other European commodities.

As the ſoil is of itſelf ſo naturally fertile, to produce every thing they covet for food, ſo their conſtitutional indolence keeps them ſatisfied, without any attempts at improvement, by tillage or cultivation. The Arabs, who have alſo extended their controul to the neighboring iſlands, which are in ſome ſort of ſubjection to them, find it worth their while to come to Johanna in their trankys, which are a kind of uncouth veſſels, of ſeventy to a hundred tons, and carry back ladings of coconuts, with ſome cowries, a kind of ſhells, which are an article of trade; and perhaps a few ſlaves. It is from them that the Johanna-men have lately learnt the utility of money, in purchaſes from them, of coarſe piece-goods, and other India commodities.

THERE are doubtleſs too, among the great variety of plants the earth yields here in a wanton profuſion, ſome valuable ſimples, of which the power and ſalutary virtues remain unknown for want of a ſufficient botanical enquiry; which I am induced to mention, from one of the natives there having made himſelf very uſeful, by the little ſkill and knowledge he has acquired in them, purely by dint of his own natural genius, without any aſſiſtance of education. This man, now much advanced in years, and known by the nick-name

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of Purser-jack, speaks English fluently, and is readily serviceable in all intercourse with the natives: but what he is chiefly considered for among them is this, his uncommon knowledge of medicinal plants, by which he has done surprizing cures, and what is more, without fee or reward.

The second day after our arrival, having an inclination to go up into the country with another English gentleman, a passenger in the Benjamin, captain Meard, I applied to this man for a guide, who accordingly procured us two stout fellows, that understood a little broken English, as indeed many of them do, who have any dealings with the shipping.

As we set out pretty early in the morning, we made a shift to penetrate about five miles into the country before the sun began to be any ways troublesome; and this was no small stretch, considering the mountainous way we had to go. We had fowling-pieces with us, and the view of excellent sport in shooting, could we have reached the places where we might perceive the game lay: but we could not conquer the ascent of the hills, though we endeavoured to scramble up them on our hands and knees. We were therefore obliged to rest satisfied with what small birds presented themselves, in the vallies and hills that were passable. We made our breakfast on pine-apples, and the milk of cocoa nuts, which served to quench our thirst. About noon, coming to a beautiful piece of water, we seated ourselves in the shade by the banks of it, to make a second meal, as well as to enjoy the tinkling of several little springs, and natural cascades, that fell from the rocks, and according to their distance seemed to sound a gradation of notes, so as to form a kind of agreeable soothing water-music.

The orange and lime-trees, which ſtood in great numbers about that ſpot of ground, bending under the weight of their fruit, diffuſed a moſt fragrant odor. There were alſo pine-apples which grew wild, of eleven and thirteen inches circumference, of a much richer flavor, than thoſe I afterwards met with in India. Our guides too made us diſtinguiſh a number of goyava, and eſpecially plumb-trees, the ſize of whoſe fruit is about that of a damaſcene, and leaves a pleaſing reliſh on the palate for ſome minutes after it is eaten. All theſe growing promiſcuouſly, and without the leaſt arrangement or order, combined with the falls of water, and the ſtupendous height of the ſurrounding hills, covered with trees and verdure, and in their various breaks and projections, exhibiting the boldeſt ſtrokes of nature, altogether compoſed what might, without exaggeration, be called a terreſtrial paradiſe, compared to which the fineſt gardens in Europe, with their ſtatues, artificial caſcades, compartments, and all the refinements of human invention, would appear poor indeed! here it was impoſſible for art to add any thing, but what would rather ſpoil than adorn the ſcenery.

It was not then without regret that we quitted ſo charming a ſpot, after having feaſted our eyes with the beauties of it; to which it may be mentioned as no inconſiderable addition, that there was no fear of wild beaſts, or of venomous creatures mixed with our pleaſure, the iſland being ſo happy as to produce none. We returned to our tent, well paid for the ſlight fatigue we had undergone in this little excurſion.

The king reſides for the moſt part about nine miles, according to their computation, up in the country, ſeldom coming down to what they call their lower town, on the ſea ſide, but when the

European

European ſhips are lying there, and is then accompanied by a numerous retinue.

WHEN he comes on board our veſſels, which he rarely miſſes, he always expreſſes a great deſire of knowing the name of every thing that is new to him; and as he has a tolerable ſmattering of the Engliſh tongue, is very inquiſitive concerning our wars in Europe, and is eſpecially well pleaſed with the civility of our captains, who regale him with European fare, and who generally ſalute him with five guns, on his paying them a viſit, and the like number at his departure. This laſt is a ceremony he would not willingly diſpenſe with; becauſe this mark of reſpect gives him an air of importance among his ſubjects.

HIS attendants, who do not altogether ſtand ſo much upon ceremony, as their ſovereign, have a forward way of begging any thing they fancy; and put on an air of diſſatisfaction, if they are refuſed.

THEY begin, as I before obſerved, to be better acquainted with the value of gold and ſilver, and are not altogether ſo fond of baubles as they uſed to be: for if we want to purchaſe cattle, fowls, or cowries, they deſire to be paid either in ſpecie, fire-arms, or gun-powder. They have likewiſe fallen upon a method of ſolliciting thoſe who come there, particularly all paſſengers, to contribute a dollar or two, towards improving their navigation, which they carry on with the African continent; and by way of perſuaſive example, produce ſeveral liſts of perſons who have ſubſcribed to that purpoſe; ſo that they ſometimes collect thirty or forty dollars a ſhip, from thoſe who touch there: and when the captains leave the place, they generally make it a point for them to ſign, and leave with them a certificate of good uſage.

The huts of the lower fort of people, are built fomething after the nature of our barns: the fides are a fort of reeds tied together, and plaiftered over with a mixture of clay and cow-dung; the roofs thatched with a kind of matting of coconut leaves. He is efteemed a man of rank who has a houfe of ftone and mud.

They fubfift chiefly on vegetables and milk, which they have here in great plenty and perfection. Inftead of oil and vinegar to their fallads, that are of the lettice kind, they ufe a kind of liquid, fomewhat like our treacle; being a preparation of the juice, yielded on incifion from the coconut-tree, before it is thickened into the confiftence of Iagree, which is a kind of coarfe fugar they make from it.

Those of quality are to be diftinguifhed by the nails of their fingers and toes, which they fuffer to grow to an immoderate length; being tinged with the alhenna, a yellowifh red, furnifhed them by a certain fhrub that grows in the marfhy places of the ifland; a practice ufed all over Arabia, and in moft places of the Turkifh dominions. They ufually carry large knives, or poniards, ftuck in a fafh they wear round their waifts; fome of which have filver or agate handles; but commonly wrought wooden ones. They are moft of them tall of ftature, ftrong, and well proportioned; have long black hair, piercing eyes, lips fomewhat inclining to be thick, and are in general of a color between olive and black. Their women are rather more clumfily made.

The common people have no cloathing but a piece of coarfe wrapper, which goes round their loins, and often barely covers their fexual parts; with a fkull cap, of any fort of ftuff. Thofe of a fuperior rank have a kind of wide-fleeved fhirt, which hangs down over a pair of long drawers,

and

and a waistcoat made thick or light, according to the season: but few wear turbands, unless such as are of great distinction.

The women are more curious in their apparel, wearing a short jacket and petticoat, with a kind of loose gown, and a veil to cover their faces. Their arms and wrists they usually adorn with a number of bracelets, made of glass, iron, copper, pewter, and silver, according to their respective ranks or circumstances. The small of their legs, their fingers and toes, are likewise decked with chains and rings. Their ears are stuck full of mock jewels, and ornaments of metal, insomuch that the lobes of them especially are greatly dilated and weighed down, which they are from their infancy taught to consider as a beauty.

They suffer their children from their birth, males and females, to go stark naked, until from five to seven or eight years old: a custom they have in common with the Orientals, who are not so much governed in it by the heat of the climate, or necessity, as by physical reasons. They imagine that infants are constitutionally more apt to be hurt by heat than cold; and that the free access of the air to all parts of their bodies, is even nutrious, and more favorable to their principles of growth, than if they were sweltered up with swathing clouts; which, they think, rob them of a hardiness conducive to their health; and, in case of any disposition to deformity, obstruct the free course of nature, always working for the best, and tending to clear itself of any imperfections. That also, by this method, those little creatures are preserved from the irksome galling and chafing of cloaths, so often breeding their complaints and cryings; which, if not carefully attended to, terminate through their straining into ruptures, and at least require absorbent powders to imbibe the

acrid ſweat, to which they are then ſubject. How far they may be in the right, I do not preſume to determine, againſt the European cuſtom, probably too prevalent and eſtabliſhed to admit of a change; yet this is certain, that it is rare to ſee, I will not only ſay, a deformed perſon, among them, but even one who is not admirably proportioned: and I have reaſon to think ruptures almoſt unknown to them, which are ſo common in Europe: ſome of them are, it is true, when young troubled with the navel-rupture; but this they ſoon recover, and is without bad conſequences.

Their language is a corrupt Arabic, mixed with the Zanguebar-tongue of the oppoſite part of the continent, from whence it is probable the Comro iſlands were originally peopled. But the whiter ſort of them, who are generally of the beſt rank, or at leaſt the moſt eſteemed among them, partly derive their color from the Arab mixture, and partly from their communication with the Europeans, which was formerly much more common than at preſent. They have adopted the jealouſy of the Arabs, together with their manners and religion; though theirs is as yet no more than a groſs Mahometiſm, adulterated with the remains of their antient ſuperſtition, eſpecially among the lower ſort.

I could not learn that the Portugueze, or any of the Romiſh prieſts, had ever made any great efforts to introduce the Chriſtian religion; probably from a ſenſe that there was little or no money ſtirring here, which is uſually their primum mobile: however, they affect religion for their pretext, as they are very indifferent about being paſtors to ſheep that have not a golden fleece; and, to ſay the truth, they generally take ſpecial care, wherever they go, in quality of meſſengers of the glad tidings of the goſpel, to be, like other

mercenary

mercenary messengers, well paid for their trouble; as will be more amply shewn, in the account I reserve to give in its place of that sort of christianity, they make such a boast of having propagated in India, with so little foundation for any plea of merit in it.

Their manners still retain a great deal of the simplicity of uncultivated nature. The mildness of the climate renders them indolent, and prone to venery. They often make use of the liberty granted them by their law of divorcing their wives, upon slight pretexts, for the sake of novelty; though they have generally two or three of them, and are confined to no number of concubines they can maintain. They are forward enough to beg any thing they like; but not thievishly inclined. They treat the English in particular, very cordially and fraternally; not purely from a principle of interest and convenience, which however has doubtless some influence; but also of gratitude, for the effectual assistance they formerly received from them in their wars with the Mohilians. Being moreover assured, by a frequent intercourse, that they have no design of invading their country, or liberty, of which they retain a strong jealousy against other European nations, and of the Portugueze especially; to whose usurpations of the sea coast on the continent they are no strangers; against which they chiefly, and with great reason, rely on the inaccessibility of their mountains, of which nature has formed for them an impenetrable barrier, and defence of the interior country.

All their woods, as I have before observed, are clear of any wild beasts of prey; nor are they infested with any venomous animals. They have a great number of monkies of different kinds and sizes; and a beast about the bigness of a common one, with a head greatly resembling that of

a fox, with a lively piercing eye. Its coat is of a woolly kind, most commonly of a mouse-color; and its tail, of about three feet in length, is variegated with circles of black, within an inch of one another, from the setting-on to the top. The natives call it a Mocawk, and when taken young it soon grows very tame. They also abound with squirrels, which are generally large and shy, but neither well-shaped nor agreeably colored. Their oxen, of which they have great numbers, are of a middling size; and, like those in the East Indies, are remarkable for their difference from ours, in having a large fleshy excrescence between their neck and back, which are called the hump, and when kept in pickle for some time, are generally preferred either to tongue, or udder, tasting like firm marrow: nothing too can be imagined sweeter than their flesh. What fowls we purchased were also extremely good and fat: however, while we remained there, I had no opportunity of tasting their game, of which they are said to have great and excellent variety: but the natives are bad sportsmen, either with net or gun.

The sea also furnishes them with fish of different sorts, and in great abundance, which they are very expert at catching. They have one particular species, which is called the parrot-fish, beautified with the liveliest colors that can be imagined; is about three foot and a half in length, thick in proportion, and reckoned delicious eating. They have also some flat fish, that a good deal resemble the turbot; likewise thornbacks, mullets, and several other sorts, of which I could not learn the names.

Besides many fruits they have in common with the Indies, which it would be tiresome, and out of place to enumerate, there is one remarkable sort of sweet oranges, of a small size, not exceeding that of a common plumb or apricot; but replete

with

with a juice, far more deliciously flavored than the larger sort, such as are generally imported in England from Portugal, under the name of China-oranges. Doubtless too, their being gathered ripe, and fresh from the tree, is an advantage to their taste; and they may safely be eat in great numbers.

Upon the whole then, it is not easy to conceive a place more perfectly suited for refreshment, after a tedious passage at sea, than the island of Johanna; there lying no objection to it, that I could learn, except the want of proper lodgment ashore, which might be easily provided for; and its distance, which would be more convenient, if it was so much beyond midway from England, that it makes the interval from land to land, rather too long for the preservation of health, especially among the common-sailors, not so preventively provided with necessaries against the ravages of the scurvy, as the officers and passengers. To say the truth, considering how precious the lives of men ought to be held, the precautions in their favor, great as they are already, on board the Europe ships, are not so sufficient, but they might receive some beneficial addition, in which both humanity, and the safety of the voyage itself, might find an account.

Saturday, the 4th of August, early in the morning, we unmoored the ship; and on receiving nineteen head of cattle on board, hoisted in the long-boat: in the afternoon weighed anchor, with a light breeze from off the shore, and made the best of our route for our next post of destination, Bombay; where, without any material occurrence in the passage, we arrived on Tuesday the 28th of the same month, and came to an anchor in the road, saluting the fort, as customary, with nine guns, which was returned with the difference of two less in number.

BOOK

BOOK II.

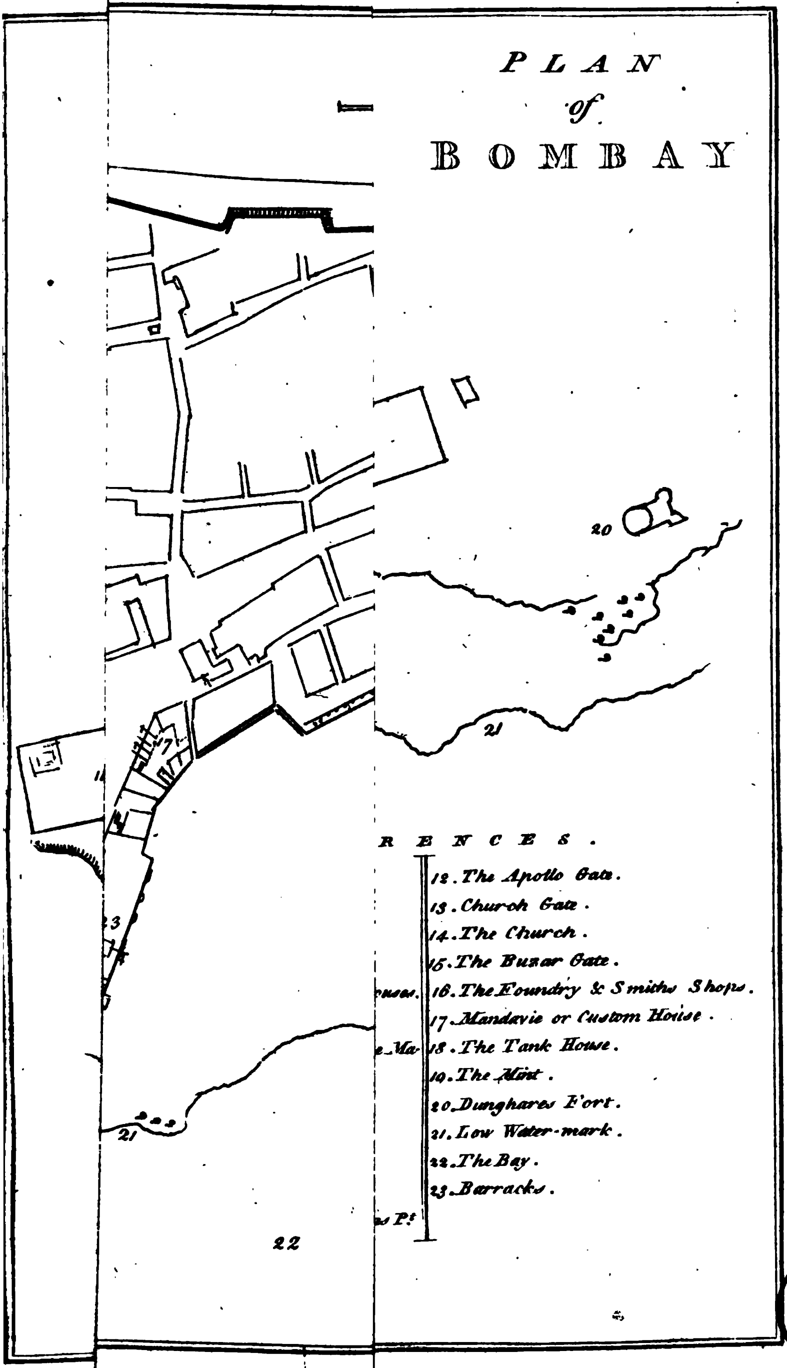
Of BOMBAY.

CHAP. I.

Author waits on the governor. Situation and latitude of the island. Advice for preserving health. Former unhealthiness of the island, and its present melioration in that point accounted for. Distempers. Seasons.

ARRIVING at Bombay, I went ashore in the evening, about six o'clock, where, with the other gentlemen entertained in the same service, we waited on Mr. Wake, then governor, with our respects; who received us with great affability and politeness, inviting us to supper with him; and in the interval, we retired to find out such gentlemen, belonging to the place, for whom we had letters.

It was my good fortune to be recommended, by a director in London, to a gentleman who was nephew to the governor, and at that time resided in the factory. He saved me the trouble of enquiring after him, by sending a servant to bring me to his apartment; and who afterwards, in honor of my recommendation, did me all the good offices, so welcome and so necessary to strangers, especially on their first arrival in a place new to them, and where they must consequently want advice and directions. I mention this, not only by way of gratitude, but as a just caution for all who


PLAN
of
BOMBAY
RENCES.
12. The Apollo Gate.
13. Church Gate.
14. The Church.
15. The Buzar Gate.
16. The Foundry & Smiths Shops.
17. Mandavie or Custom House.
18. The Tank House.
19. The Mint.
20. Dunghares Fort.
21. Low Water-mark.
22. The Bay.
23. Barracks.
20
21
21
22

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may be in the ſame caſe, of going abroad to ſuch places to get provided with effectual recommendations; for it too often happens, that many reſt ſatisfied with either improper ones, or with ſuch, as being mere matter of form, are treated ſo by thoſe to whom they are addreſſed.

I WAS then ſoon put into a regular way of life, and had no other inconveniencies or complaints, but what one is uſually expoſed to, in the change of a native climate for a foreign one. And here, though this place is pretty well known by a number of deſcriptions of its origin, ſituation, climate, &c. it might be deemed an imperfection in my plan, were I not to mention, at leaſt ſummarily, thoſe particulars: as the reference to other books or accounts, would break the connection and order, required for the readers ideas, which muſt be the clearer, for the whole being preſented to him at one view.

BOMBAY is an iſland, in the latitude of eighteen degrees, forty-one minutes of north latitude, near the coaſt of Deckan, the high mountains of which are full in view, at a trifling diſtance; and is ſo ſituate, as, together with the winding of other iſlands along that continent, to form one of the moſt commodious bays perhaps in the world; from which diſtinction it received the denomination of Bombay, by corruption from the Portugueſe Buon-bahia, though now uſually written by them Bombaim. Certain it is, that the harbor is ſpacious enough to contain any number of ſhips; has excellent anchoring-ground; and by its circular poſition, can afford them a land-locked ſhelter againſt any winds, to which the mouth of it is expoſed. It is alſo admirably ſituated for a center of dominion and commerce, with reſpect to the Malabar coaſt, the Gulf of Perſia, the Red-Sea, and the whole trade of that ſide of the great Indian

Peninſula;

Peninsula, and northern parts adjoining to it: to the government of which presidency they are vey properly subordinated.

Considering too that this island is situated within the tropics, the climate of it is far from intolerable on account of its heat, in any time of the year; though never susceptible of any degree of cold beyond what must be rather agreeable to an European constitution. In the very hottest season, which immediately precedes the periodical return of the rains, the refreshment of the alternate land and sea-breezes is hardly ever wanting, the calms being generally of a very short duration; so that perhaps, in the year, there may be a few days of an extraordinary sultry heat, and even those may be made supportable, by avoiding any violent exercise, by keeping especially out of the malignant unmitigated glare and action of the sun, and by a light unoppressive dyet. Great care too should be taken of not exposing one self to the dangerous effect of the night-dews, and of the too quick transition from a state of open pores, to their perspiration being shut up; which is so often the case of those, who, from an impatience of heat, venture to sleep from under cover, in the raw air of the night, pleasantly indeed, but perniciously cooled by the absence of the sun: a circumstance yet more fatal, to such as have besides been heated by any intemperance in eating and drinking.

Bombay, in fact, had long borne an infamous character for unhealthfulness. It was commonly called the burying-ground of the English; but this was only until an experience, bought at the expence of a number of lives, had rendered the causes of such a mortality more known, and consequently more guarded against. Among others, the principal ones doubtless were:

First,

FIRST, the nature of the climate, and the precautions and management required by it, not being so sufficiently known, as they now are; if that knowledge was but prevalent enough, with many, for them to sacrifice their pleasures of intemperance, or the momentary relief from a present irksomeness of heat, to the preservation of their healths.

FORMERLY too, there obtained a practice esteemed very pernicious to the health of the inhabitants, employing a manure for the coconut-trees, that grow in abundance on the island, consisting of the small fry of fish, and called by the country-name Buckshaw; which was undoubtedly of great service, both to augment, and meliorate their produce: but through its quantity being superficially laid in trenches round the root, and consequently the easier to be exhaled, diffused, as it putrified, a very unwholsome vapor. There are some, however, who deny this, and insist on the ill consequences of this manure to be purely imaginary, or at least greatly exaggerated; giving for reason, that the inhabitants themselves were never sensible of any noxious quality in that method; and that if the island is now less unhealthy, the change must be sought for in other causes. But all are agreed, that the habitations in the woods, or coconut-groves, are unwholesome, from the air wanting a free current through them; and from the trees themselves, diffusing a kind of vaporous moisture, unfavorable to the lungs, a complaint common to all close-wooded countries.

THERE has also been another reason assigned, for the island having grown healthier, from the lessening of the waters, by a breach of the sea being banked off; which however does not seem to me a satisfactory one. There is still subsisting a great body of salt water on the inside of the breach, the communication of which with the sea, being less

leſs free than before the breach was built, muſt be in proportion more apt to ſtagnate, and breed noxious vapors; ſo that this alteration by the breach cannot enter for much, if any thing, into the propoſed ſolution, which may perhaps be better reduced into the before-mentioned one of the different diet, and manner of living of the Europeans: not however without taking into account, the place being provided with more ſkilful phyſicians than formerly, when there was leſs niceneſs in the choice of them. Surgeons, and ſurgeons-mates of ſhips, and thoſe none of the experteſt, uſed to be admitted almoſt without any, or but a ſuperficial examination: though in ſo tender a point, as that of the life of ſubjects, always precious, and ſurely more ſo, where they are ſo difficult to recruit. The ſame negligence was alſo obſerved with reſpect to the gallies, and other armed veſſels of the company in thoſe parts: and to ſay the truth, the pay was too ſlender to invite into ſuch ſervice any capable perſons. Here I cannot omit inſerting, though digreſſively, one inſtance of a wanton diſregard to that material point, of the truth of which I have been credibly aſſured. Mr. Phipps, one of the former governors, on examining the marine eſtabliſhment of Bombay, wherein he propoſed making retrenchments, by way of currying favor with his maſters at home, which is often done, by the falſeſt, and moſt ruinous œconomy, obſerved the ſurgeons pay, rated at 42 rupees per month, which, at the uſual way of reckoning of a rupee for half-a-crown, was juſt five guineas. "What, ſays he, there muſt be "ſome miſtake, the figures are tranſpoſed, it muſt "be 24 inſtead of 42:" and for the ſake of this, in every ſenſe a barbarous joke, he, with a daſh of his pen, curtailed the pay accordingly: but ſurely

furely this was rather cutting into the quick, than paring off excrefcences.

WHATEVER may be the reafon, the point is certain, that the climate is no longer fo fatal to the English inhabitants as it ufed to be, and incomparably more healthy than many other of our fettlements in India.

THE moft common diforders are fevers, to which mufcular ftrong men are more fubject than thofe of laxer fibres; and bloody fluxes, but the laft make much lefs ravage than they ufed to do, where they fixed, from the fuperior method of treating them. New-comers too efpecially are liable to fome cutaneous eruptions, fuch as the prickly heat, which is rather reckoned beneficial than otherwife; and a fort of tetters, called ring-worms, from their circular form, about the fize of a fhilling, which however foon fubmit to a gentle phyficking, or even to fome flight outward application.

THE Barbeers, a violent diforder that generally ended in rendering all the limbs paralytic; and the mordechin, which is a fit of violent vomiting and purging, that often proved fatal, are diftempers hardly now known on the ifland.

IN fhort, this place, the name of which ufed to carry terror with it, in refpect to its unhealthinefs, is now no longer to be dreaded on that account; provided any common meafure of temperance be obferved, without which the tenure of health, in any climate, muft be hazardous.

THE feafons however can at moft be divided into three; the cool, hot, and rainy: or indeed properly enough into the dry wreather, which lafts eight months in the year; and into the wet, which continues about four months raining, but with fhort intermiffions. The fetting in of the rains, is commonly ufhered in by a violent thunder-ftorm, generally called the Elephanta, a name which

it probably receives in the Asiatic style, from the comparison of its force to that of the elephant. Yet this is a pleasing prelude to the refreshment that follows, from the rains moderating that excessive heat, which is then at its height, and naturally brings on, with the sun that raises the vapors, the relief from its intense ardor. They begin about the 28th of May, and break up about the beginning of September, after which there is never any, unless, and that but rarely, a short transient shower. This rainy season, though extremely hot, in any dry intervals, when the sun shines out for a few hours, is counted the pleasantest: yet the end of it, and some days after, are not reckoned but the sickliest time of the whole year, from the abundance of exhalations forming a kind of faint, vaporous bath, from which those who lodge in apartments the highest from the ground are proportionably less in danger, the atmosphere growing gradually clearer upwards.

During this season the country-trading vessels are laid up, especially those belonging to the black-merchants, with whom it is a kind of superstition not to send any to sea, until after a festival on the breaking up of the rains; the ceremony of which consists chiefly in throwing, by way of oblation, a consecrated coconut into the sea, gilt and ornamented. Then and not till then they look on the sea as open and navigable until the next returning rains. How this solemn anniversary foolery came to be established, I never could learn from any of the natives; it being probably one of their many traditional customs, the original of which is lost in the remoteness of their antiquity.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the government of BOMBAY : *its charter. Of the military and marine forces : militia. The piratory on that coast : measures to oppose it. Mildness and tolerancy of the* ENGLISH *government.*

THE government of this island is entirely English, subordinate to the court of directors of the united companies of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, who appoint, by commission, a president, to whom they join a council consisting of nine persons; the whole number of which are rarely, or rather never on the spot, being employed as chiefs of the several factories subordinate to that presidency. Those of the council as are at Bombay are appointed to the posts of the greatest trust, such as accountant, warehouse-keeper, land-paymaster, marine-paymaster, and other offices for transacting the company's affairs. They are generally such as have risen by degrees from the station of writers, and take place, unless otherwise ordered from home, according to the seniority of the service.

THE president then, and such members of the council as are on the spot, being convened by his order, signified to them by the secretary, constitute a regular council, in which all matters are decided by majority of votes: though the influence of the president is generally so great, that few or no points are carried but according to his will, and dictates. For should any of the council oppose him, he has it so much in his power to make their situation uneasy to them, that they must quit the service, and repair home, where, unless the occasion of discontent is very flagrant indeed, they rarely meet with much countenance or redress;

 the

the company thinking it rather more political to wink at the faults of a governor, where they are such as not to be too hurtful to their service, than to expose their affairs to the hazard of worse inconveniencies, from the dissensions of any number of absolutely co-ordinates. And to say the truth, this weight a-top, though liable from human infirmity to be sometimes oppressive, serves to keep the under parts steady and fixt in their place: besides, it is easier to make one person accountable for the administration of things than a number; and since the president is he on whom the company chiefly relies, it seems but reasonable that he should have the greatest share of power.

As to the matters of a judicial nature, they were in the year 1727 settled by a royal charter, respectively obtained for the three chief presidencies of the company in India: to wit, Bombay; Fort St. George, or Madrass, on the coast of Coromandel; and Calcutta in Bengal. How this charter was received or managed in the two last places, I have had no distinct account: but as to Bombay am better informed.

At the time this charter was procured for these settlements, it was generally believed to have been sollicited by Mr. Harrison, once a governor of India, but at that time a director of the East-India company: who, in fact, meant it as a temporary expedient for preserving and extending his influence over the direction by this proof of his favor at court; though the plausible pretext alledged was the better administration of justice in those colonies. That such however could not be the true intention, must appear clearly from the neglect of all the proper and competent means for establishing it, especially with reference to Bombay; and indeed as to the two others, I never heard that there was any more care taken of them. The charter then appointing

pointing the judges of Oyer and Terminer, the mayor's court, and the court of appeals, this laſt to conſiſt of purely the preſident and council, was only attended with a manuſcript book of inſtructions; which, granting it was framed by the ableſt lawyers in the kingdom, could be but a very imperfect guidance to the gentlemen nominated to the ſeveral judicial offices neceſſary to the execution thereof. Theſe gentlemen being, generally ſpeaking, ſuch as came very young out of their country, bred up entirely in a mercantile way, and utterly unacquainted with the laws of England, were in courſe liable to make great miſtakes, eſpecially in caſes of capital importance: and however their natural good ſenſe and well-meaning might make a ſhift in purely commercial caſes to decide with tolerable equity, they could not but be greatly at a loſs in thoſe of a mixed nature, or where it was neceſſary to pay a regard to the particular laws of England. No perſon had been ſent out with capacity or knowledge enough to put this new method of procedure into a proper courſe, and to aſcertain the limits of the ſeveral juriſdictions: ſo that the charter was left in a manner to execute itſelf. But this inſufficiency of judgment was not even the worſt of its conſequences: for ſeveral of the company's ſervants, named eſpecially to fill the offices of mayor and aldermen of the mayor's court, even though their juriſdiction was ſubordinate to the court of appeals, aſſumed to themſelves ſuch an authority and independence, as made the governor and council jealous of theirs being leſſened, or at leaſt checked by it. This bred ſuch feuds and diſſenſions, that ſeveral of the members of the mayor's court conceiving themſelves aggrieved, quitted the ſervice, and repaired home to the company with their complaints. All which might have been in a great meaſure pre-

rees, whose living depends chiefly on the cultivation of the coconut-trees; who, though not regularly disciplined, would be of good service, especially in any laborious part of military duty, and would assist in the defence of the island, against any foreign invasion, for the sake of their families there settled and from attachment to the English government, the mildness and justice of which is the more sensible to them from the comparison obvious to make of it, to the oppression of the neighboring governments.

Besides the necessary charge of a presidiary force, for the defence of the island, the company has been obliged for a number of years to keep up a military marine, for the protection of trade upon the coast, the whole length of which has, for time immemorial, been infested with pirates; and bears some resemblance to that part of the African coast, which has so long been infamous for this practice. Certain it is, that but for the constant check they were kept in by the English naval force in those parts, those seas would have swarmed with piratical vessels, and no trading one, unsufficiently armed, could have escaped them.

The coast to the northward of Bombay and Surat, was chiefly the harbor of a nest of pirates, called Sanganians, who seldom extended their cruize far beyond the latitude of their ports, and were especially troublesome to the trading vessels bound in or out of the Gulf of Persia: but they rarely attacked any ship of strength; their cruizers being of no size, nor carrying any artillery equal to such an attempt. Their object too was chiefly plunder, without making slaves of those they found on captured vessels; a rule which however they sometimes broke thorough, where there was any considerable ransom to be hoped.

On

On the oppoſite coaſt, which forms the end of the Perſian Gulf, were ſeated the Muſkat-Arabs, whoſe firſt putting forth ſhips for cruizing was purely out of revenge againſt the Portugueſe, whom they endeavored to harraſs by all means, and even proceeded ſo far, as to make deſcents on their ſettlements bordering upon Surat, where they committed all ſort of devaſtations. But having once got a reliſh of pillaging ſuch enemies at ſea, they began to extend their attacks indiſcriminately on other nations, and among them on the Engliſh, from whom however, after receiving various defeats, they were induced to abſtain in future, and little by little taking a commercial bent, they have much remitted of that piratical turn, and keep veſſels of force rather upon the defenſive, than for any other purpoſe, and therewith held the power of the famous Shah-Nadir in defiance, who had the reduction of them much at heart.

Formerly too the Malabar coaſt, which though it gives its name to the ſea-ſhore as high as Surat, properly begins at Mount-Dilly, was alſo noted for the pirates that it bred, who greatly diſturbed the navigation of the Indian ſeas. Theſe were long ago quieted by the Portugueſe armaments; and ſince, having been not only overpowered by the Engliſh, but diſcountenanced by the country-governments, who uſed to give them harbor and protection, are now dwindled to nothing.

To the northward of Goa, there were ſeveral petty chiefs, who carried on this piratical courſe; but at length came to an amicable correſpondence with the Engliſh, from their dread and jealouſy of the ſuperior and growing power of Angria, their common enemy, though from different reaſons.

It was then principally on account of Angria, whoſe dominions ſtretched from the mouth of

Bombay

Bombay harbor, down a great length of coast without a material interruption, that the company was, in its own defence, obliged to keep on foot a very expensive maritime force. This force consisted chiefly of gallies built here in England, on the most beautiful models that can be imagined, carrying about eighteen or twenty guns, and provided with oars, which were of special service in a calm. They had also a few grabs, being vessels of much the same burthen, but built in the country, on the model of Angria's grabs, with prows, which seem best calculated for carrying chace-guns. The scheme of those people's gunnery being chiefly to get into the wake of their enemy, and rake him fore-and-aft; a kind of quarter-master conducting the vessel till he brings the masts of his chace into one, at the instant of which he gives the word for firing, and commonly does the greatest execution in the rigging, after which they have the easier market of the vessel thus disabled. Otherwise, they are too slightly built to lay along-side of any ship of the least weight of metal. Their great stress lies on those prow-guns, which they manage to special advantage in a calm, having armed boats to tow them a-stern of the vessel they attack, and which for want of wind cannot avoid them. Of these armed boats called Gallevats, the company maintains also a competent number, for the service of their marine, being not only of use to oppose them to the enemy, but for pursuit, or expeditions in shoal-water. For further strengthening too of the naval force in those parts, the company occasionally stations at Bombay some larger built ships from Europe; which, for their superior weight of metal, and greater difficulty of boarding, especially in deep water, with any thing of a commanding gale, have nothing to fear from

from those slight vessels; though, in a calm, they might gall and plague them sufficiently.

All these vessels that formed the military marine of Bombay were chiefly manned with English, or with European deserters from other nations; and according to the exigency reinforced with detachments of soldiers from the land-forces, to serve in the nature of marines. These vessels were to guard the navigation of those seas, and convoy the trade employed on collateral services; such as protecting the interest of the company, or vindicating its honor, where requisite within the bounds of that presidency's department; as in the Red Sea, Gulf of Persia, the Bar of Surat, &c.

But whatever care could be taken of employing these cruizers to safety and advantage, it could scarce happen otherwise, but that Angria, always alert, and who knew too well the inferiority of his strength, to attack them without great odds on his side, should now and then over-match them so with numbers, as to get the better; but as more will be said of him hereafter, I shall drop him here.

Towards defraying the charges of this marine, the company required of all the trading vessels, those of the other European nations excepted, to take the passes of the Bombay-government, for which they paid so small a consideration, that I never heard the least murmuring; the merchants being duly sensible not only of the benefit their trade received from the English protection, but that this contribution was far short of the cost of it.

Nothing however has more contributed to the population of this island, than the mildness of the government and the toleration of all religions; there not being suffered the least violence or injury to be offered, either to the natives or Europeans on that account. The Roman-catholic churches, the

Moorish

Moorish moschs, the Gentoo pagodas, the worship of the Parsees, are all equally unmolested and tolerated. They have the free exercise of all their rites and religious ceremonies, without either the English interfering, or their clashing with one another. This toleration also makes a contrast very favorable for our nation, to the rigors of the inquisition, which take place in the neighboring territories of the Portuguese, whose having rendered themselves odious on that account, was not one of the least reasons that facilitated their being driven out of the greatest part of them by the Morattoes, who are all Gentoos. Mr. Bourchier, the present governor, has greatly exerted himself, on the troubles of the government at Surat, and in the countries round about, to draw a confluence of their inhabitants, merchants, and tradesmen to settle at Bombay, where they experience quite another treatment and security than under their own governments. In truth, this gentleman's conduct cannot be too much commended for his incessant endeavors at increasing the population, and improving or inlarging the trade of the island; especially for his care of cultivating peace and friendship with those dangerous and powerful neighbors the Morattoes; who, being now masters of the contiguous island of Salsett, can at pleasure streighten the supplies of the island, and interrupt its inland communication. But of them more in its place.

CHAP. III.

Of the ſtate of landed property on the iſland. ENGLISH, *how ill uſed by the* PORTUGUESE *in the ceſſion of this iſland. Land-proprietors.* PARELL *the governor's country-houſe. Coconut-oarts: rice-fields. Brab-trees; toddy-birds. Cultivation improved; to what owing.*

IT is to be obſerved, that when the ceſſion of this iſland and harbor was firſt made to the Engliſh by the Portugueſe, although ſo far deficient as it was, againſt the terms of agreement between the two crowns; and that the iſland of Salſett, which was manifeſtly included in the regalities of Bombay, was unjuſtly withheld from us, and conſequently greatly leſſened the importance of an iſland, which muſt chiefly depend for its ſupport on that of Salſett: the Portugueſe alſo clogged the ſurrender of even this ſmall part of what was our due, with the condition that the inhabitants, late their ſubjects, were to enjoy their poſſeſſions in the ſame manner as before we took poſſeſſion. The iſland was then, and ſtill continues, divided into three roman-catholic pariſhes, or Freguezias, as they call them; which are Bombay, Mahim, and Salvaçam; the churches of which, are governed by roman-catholic prieſts, of any nation but the Portugueſe, againſt whom the Engliſh wiſely objected, from the danger of their connection and too cloſe correſpondence with the prieſts of their own nation, in the neighboring Portugueſe dominions, of whom we had repeated reaſons to be jealous. The bulk then of the land-proprietors were roman-catholic Meſtizos and Canarins. The firſt are a mixed breed of the natives and Portugueſe: the other purely aborigines of the country, converted

converted to what the Portuguese call the Faith. The other land-owners were Moors, Gentoos, and Parsees; but these last are of moderner date, having since purchased on the island. However, to all these the article of security to their property has been inviolably kept, and the right of inheritance is regulated according to the respective laws and customs of the several denominations of cast or religion. The land is chiefly employed in coconut-groves, or oarts; rice-fields, and onion-grounds, which are reckoned of an excellent sort on this island.

The company have also acquired a considerable landed estate, either by purchases, confiscations for crimes, or treasons, and seizures for debt; for which estate there is a particular officer, under the title of super-intendant appointed to administer.

There are two very pleasant gardens belonging to the company, cultivated after the European manner: the one a little way out of the gates, open to any of the English gentlemen who like to walk there; the other much larger and finer, at about five miles distance from the town, at a place called Parell, where the governor has a very agreeable country-house, which was originally a Romish chapel belonging to the jesuits, but confiscated about the year 1719, for some foul practices against the English interest. It is now converted into a pleasant mansion-house, and what with the additional buildings, and improvements of the gardens, affords a spacious and commodious habitation. There is an avenue to it of a hedge and trees near a mile long; and, though near the sea-side, is sheltered from the air of it by a hill between. Here the governor may spend most part of the heats; the air being cooler and fresher than in town; and nothing is wanting that may make a country-retirement agreeable.

As

As to the oarts, or coconut-groves, they make the most considerable part of the landed property; being planted wherever the situation and soil is favorable to them. When a number of these groves lie contiguous to each other, they form what is called the woods, through which there is a due space left for roads and pathways, where one is pleasantly defended from the sun at all hours in the day. They are also thick-set with houses belonging to the respective proprietors, as well as with huts of the poorer sort of people. I have before remarked, that they are however reckoned unwholesome for want of a free ventilation.

As to the coconut-tree itself, not all the minute descriptions of it, which I have met with in many authors, seem to me to come up to the reality of its wonderful proprieties and use. Nothing is so unpromising as the aspect of this tree; nor none yields a produce more profitable, or more variously beneficial to mankind: it has some resemblance to the palm-tree; perhaps, one of its species: the leaves of it serve for thatching, the husk of the fruit for making cordage, and even the largest cables for ships. The kernel of it is dried, and yields an oil much wanted for several uses, and makes a considerable branch of traffic under the name of Copra. Arrack, a coarse sort of sugar called Jagree, and vinegar are also extracted from it, besides many other particulars too tedious to enumerate. The cultivation of it is extremely easy, by means of channels conveying water to the roots, and by a manure laid round them, of which I have spoke already. An owner then of two hundred of these trees is reckoned to have a competency to subsist on.

As to the rice-fields, they differ in value, according to the fineness and quantity of rice they produce. The growth of this grain has a particularity

cularity not unworth mentioning; which is, that as it loves a watry ſoil, ſo to whatever height the water riſes, wherever it is planted, the growth of the rice keeps meaſure with it, even to that of twelve or fourteen foot, the ſummit of the ſtalk always appearing above the ſurface. It is alſo remarked, that the eating of new rice affects the eyes. The fact is certain, though I cannot aſſume to give the phyſical reaſon for it.

THERE are alſo here and there interſperſed a few brab-trees, or rather wild palm-trees; (the word brab being derived from *Brabo*, which in Portugueſe ſignifies wild) that bear an inſipid kind of fruit, about the bigneſs of a common pear: but the chief profit from them is the toddy, or liquor drawn from them by inciſions at the top, of which the arrack that is made is reckoned better than that from the coconut-trees. They are generally near the ſea-ſide, as they delight moſt in a ſandy ſoil. It is on this tree that the toddy-birds, ſo called from their attachment to that tree, make their exquiſitely curious neſts, wrought out of the thinneſt reeds and filaments of branches, with an inimitable mechaniſm. The birds themſelves are of no value either for plumage, ſong, or the table, and are about the bigneſs of a partridge.

THIS iſland is however a ſtrong inſtance of the benefits of a good government, and a numerous population, by not a ſpot of it remaining uncultivated: ſo that though it is far from producing ſufficient for the conſumption of the inhabitants; and notwithſtanding its many diſadvantages of ſituation and ſoil, it yields, in proportion to its bigneſs, incomparably more than the adjacent iſland of Salſett; whether under the government of the Portugueſe, or, as it now is, under that of the Morattoes.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the fortifications, public works, and buildings of BOMBAY. *The castle might have been better situated: the town walled round: out-forts: the breach:* ENGLISH *church. Private buildings and* GENTOO *pagodas. Malabar hill. Story of a* GENTOO GIOGHY. *Rock of purification.*

WHEN the English first took possession of this island, they found in that part of it, which chiefly commands the harbor, an old fortified house; the residence of the Portuguese governor; and though this house might have served for other valuable uses, they were tempted to make it the centre house of the castle which they built round it. It is however impossible to conceive, in every sense, a more incommodious structure; and the same, or perhaps less cost, than the reparations and additions have stood in to the company, would have built a much better mansion new from the ground. Yet the false œconomy of preserving this old piece of building, which need not to have been demolished or thrown away, had such effect, that it hindered the English not only from consulting a more commanding situation to the harbor; which is that of Mendham's Point; but made them blind to the disadvantage of the fort built round it; being overlooked by an eminence near it, called Dungharee Point; on which there is only a small untenable little fort, of no defence, and which serves now for the town prison, for debtors, or criminals.

THE castle however itself deserved a better situation; being a regular quadrangle, well-built of strong hard stone. In one of the bastions of it that faces Dungharee Point, there is a large tank or cistern hollowed, which contains a great quan-

may, in process of time, undermine and blow up the cause-way. After all then I am far from convinced, that the benefits accruing from the breach are equal to the expence of it; which, I am assured, could not be much less than a hundred thousand pounds.

The only English church at Bombay, and which is full sufficient for any possible congregation of them at it, is a building extremely neat, commodious, and airy; being situate on what is called the Green; a spacious area that continues from the fort thereto, and is pleasantly laid out in walks planted with trees, round which are mostly the houses of the English inhabitants.

These are generally but ground-floored after the roman fashion, and mostly with a court-yard before and behind, in which are the offices and out-houses. They are substantially built with stone, lime, and smooth plaistered on the out-side. They are often kept white-washed, which has a neat air; but very offensive to the eyes from the glare of the sun. Few of them have glass windows to any apartment, the sashes being generally paned with a kind of transparent oister-shells square-cut; which have the singular property of transmitting the light full sufficiently, at the same time that they exclude the violence of its glare, and have besides a cool look. The flooring is generally composed of a kind of loam or stucco, called Chunam, being a lime made of burnt shells; which, if well tempered, as they have a peculiar art of it, is extremely hard and lasting, and takes so smooth a polish, that one may literally see one's face in it: but where terrasses are made of it, unless the chunam is duly prepared, and which is very expensive, is apt to crack with the violence of the sun's heat. There have been also some attempts to paint the stucco walls in apartments: but they

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hardly tolerable, cannot be ſuppoſed to be cool-
l faſt enough even in the evening to allow of

to paint the ſtucco walls in apartments: but they
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have never ſucceeded, being preſently ſpoiled, and diſcolored by the ſaline particles of the lime, for which hitherto there has been found no cure.

And here I cannot omit mentioning an uſe made at Surat of this manner of terraſſing, for I ſaw no ſuch thing at Bombay; ſome having, inſtead of gravel walks in their gardens, ſtucco ones, a little raiſed above the garden-beds: ſo that they muſt be dry to walk on immediately after the moſt violent rain: but then, what with their whiteneſs and poliſh, they muſt have a very diſagreeable effect on the eye, in a ſun-ſhiny day; beſides their being ſo ſlippery.

The houſes of the black merchants, as they are called; though ſome are far from deſerving the appellation of black; are for the moſt part extremely ill built, and incommodious; the window-lights ſmall, and the apartments ill diſtributed. Some however, make a better appearance, if only a ſtory high: but not the beſt of them are without a certain meanneſs in the manner, and clumſineſs in the execution that may be obſerved, comparatively, and without any partiality to the European architecture, even the moſt ordinary.

There is yet a convenience moſt of thoſe houſes either of the Engliſh or natives have; which are ſmall ranges of pillars that ſupport a pent-houſe or ſhed, forming what is called, in the Portugueſe lingua-franca, *Verandas*, either round, or on particular ſides of the houſe, which afford a pleaſing ſhelter againſt the ſun, and keep the inner apartments cool and refreſhed by the draught of air under them. Such colonnades might methinks even in England not be unſerviceable to ſummer-houſes eſpecially; which being ſo heated by a conſtant ſun in the middle of the day, as to be hardly tolerable, cannot be ſuppoſed to be cooled faſt enough even in the evening to allow of

their being a refreshing retreat. It is under these Verandas that the owners, especially the natives, generally enjoy the fresh air, and often transact their business or receive visitants.

Most however of the best houses are within the walls of the town; which may be about a mile in circuit.

As for the pagodas of the Gentoos, there is not one of them worth mentioning in regard to their appearance; being low mean buildings; commonly admitting the light only at the door, facing which is placed the principal idol, made after the various imaginations they have of the subaltern deities they worship, of which more will be said in its place. They fancy, it seems, that a dark gloomy place inspires a kind of religious horror and reverence. They are remarkably fond of having those pagodas among trees, and near the side of a tank, or pond, for the sake of their ablutions; which they do, not like the Mahometans, so much practice as a religious ceremony, as purity for cleanliness; and I might add, for the voluptuousness of them in those hot countries. These tanks, or ponds, are often very expensive works, being generally square, and surrounded with stone-steps, that are very commodious to the bathers. The most remarkable pagoda on the island is on Malabar-hill, which is something more than two miles distance out of town, and is a kind of promontory that stretching into the sea, forms, together with a small island called Old Woman's Island, what is called Back Bay, the entry of which is shut up by a ledge of rocks running from the one to the other. On this hill, which is far from an high one, and of easy ascent, about a mile from that ascent, after passing a plain a-top of it, on a gentle declivity to the sea-side, stands the Gentoo pagoda, with a large tank or pond a few feet from it, and is of fresh

fresh water, formed by the draining of the rains, though not many yards from the sea, with which it is near on a level, on the side that is open to it, all but where the pagoda stands between a part of it and the shore. The other three sides are surrounded with trees that form an amphitheatre, on the slopes of the hill towards it, than which no prospect that I ever saw, or can conceive, forms a more agreeably wild landscape. The trees open to all the force of the winds, follow the general law, and take a strong bent to the opposite point from them, but with such regularity, that one would think they had been trimmed or pruned to that figure they exhibit. These trees give one the idea of the temple-groves, so often pictured in the antients. A little beyond that spot, towards the extremity of the hill, was built a very small pagoda, of no manner of appearance, or worth mentioning, but for the sake of the founder of it, an itinerant Gioghi or Gentoo vagrant priest, who not twenty years ago was at the expence of it, out of the alms and voluntary donations collected from those of his religion on the island. And as there is something in his history that characterises them, I shall summarily insert it here, as I received it from a Gentoo who knew him, and hope I shall be forgiven the digression.

This man, when he first came on the island, might be about five and thirty years of age; tall, strait, and well-made. By his account, and a very probable one, considering their profession of vagrancy, he had been all over Tartary, Thibet, and on the borders of China. At length he took Bombay in his rounds, and here, though according to his institution, which is strictly that of the old Gymnosophist of India, so plainly and so truly mentioned in antient history, he ought to have gone stark-naked; yet, out of deference to our

manners, when he took his ftation up on this hill, he juft covered thofe parts which the common ideas of decency oblige to conceal, not fo much, but that might plainly be feen a brafs ring paffed through the prepuce, which does to thofe of his profeffion, the fame office as a padlock or girdle of chaftity is fuppofed to do to the Italian women. His hair too, which was twice the length of his body, that is to fay, reaching down to his heels, and thence to the crown of his head again, was wreathed in rolls round, and rofe in a kind of fpire of a ruffet color, into which it was fun-burnt from its original black. This man, on his arrival at Bombay, addreffed himfelf folemnly to the Gentoos, and to them only, for money towards founding the fmall pagoda I have mentioned; nor indeed did I hear it fuggefted that he applied it to any other ufe. But his fcheme for exciting their devotion was fomething extraordinary. He preached to them from the midft of a great fire which furrounded him, and had fomething of a miraculous air, though there was nothing but what was very natural in it. He had a platform of earth made of the elevation of about two foot, and about twelve or fourteen foot fquare. Round this was fet a pile of wood, which, being lighted, made him appear as if preaching from amidft the flames, though they never touched him; but muft have been unfupportable to any except himfelf, who had been from his childhood inured by degrees to bear fuch a heat. This device had its effect, for it produced to him a collection, at feveral times, to the amount of what he required.

And here I cannot quit Malabar-hill, without mentioning another particularity of it. At the very extreme point of it, there is a rock on the defcent to the fea, flat a-top, in which there is a natural crevice, that communicates with a hollow

that

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Published as the Act directs 12 Feby. 1772.

that terminates at an exterior opening to the ſea. This place is uſed by the Gentoos, as a purification of their ſins, which they ſay is effected by their going in at the opening, and emerging out of the crevice, which ſeemed too narrow for perſons of any corpulence to ſqueeze through. However, this ceremony is of ſuch repute, in the neighbouring countries, that there is a tradition that the famous Conajee Angria ventured by ſtealth, one night, on the iſland, on purpoſe to perform this ceremony, and got off undiſcovered.

Eaſtward of the middle of Mallabar hill ſtands a ſtone building, uſed by the Parſees for depoſiting their dead, it being contrary to their religion to bury them. This building is circular, 25 feet in diameter, and 12 high, open at the top; in its center is a well or pit grated over, round which is a ſtone platform, ſloping from the ſides to the center. On this platform the dead bodies are expoſed to the birds of prey, ſuch as Kites and Vultures, which are here in great numbers. Theſe immediately ſeize on the corps, commonly beginning with the eyes; a man is kept on purpoſe to obſerve carefully which eye the birds firſt pick out, and on this they form their conjecture of the ſtate of the ſoul of the defunct, the right being that which denotes happineſs.

The moiſture from the corps, and the remains left by the birds, falls through the grate, thereby making room for ſucceeding bodies.

The Parſees believe, that any one looking into this building, except the perſon whoſe immediate buſineſs it is, will in conſequence thereof ſhortly die. I once went up to examine it. A Parſee in a friendly manner begged me to deſiſt; aſſuring me that I ſhould not long ſurvive the gratification for his idle curioſity.

CHAP.

CHAP V.

Of the islands adjacent to BOMBAY, *&c.*

THE first island stretching from Bombay, from which it is separated by the sea at flood, and passable at ebb, is called Old Woman's island, but for what reason I know not. It is a narrow strip of land, about two miles long, terminating at the end in a small eminence, or hillock, upon which a look-out-house is kept for vessels. Near the middle of this island are three tombs, kept constantly white, as land-marks into the harbor. From the end of the island shoots forth a dangerous ledge of rocks, which require a good birth to clear them. For the rest, it produces nothing remarkable, and yields only a scanty foddering for a few cattle; and is rented out at about 20 l. or 200 rupees per annum.

At the harbor's mouth lie two small fortified rocks, called Henara, and Canara, which you leave on the right hand as you enter it. These were formerly in the hands of Angria, and the Siddees, or Moors, which last have been long dispossest of them. In the possession of an enemy they would be disadvantageous to us, overlooking our harbor; but probably they must fall into the hands of the Morattoes, who have lately swallowed up most of the neighbouring country, and to whom such a seizure can make but a trifling accession of power.

Opposite our castle, at three miles distance is Butcher's island, so called from cattle being kept there for the use of Bombay, where we keep an ensign's guard, with a fort, not of much more defence than a pidgeon-house; tho' in the hands of an enemy it would serve to streigthen the harbor greatly. It is very small, its utmost length not being two miles, and in breadth no where scarce one.

About three miles from thence lies the island of Caranja, in size inconsiderable, and lately belonging to the Portuguese; but fell with many other of their neighbouring places, under the power

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of the Morattoes. It affords nothing but a little rice, fowls, goats, and garden-ſtuff for the Bombay market.

Two miles from Butcher's iſland, and ſtill fronting the fort, lies the ſmall but famous iſland of Elephanta. It can at moſt be about three miles in compaſs, and conſiſts of almoſt all hill; at the foot of which as you land, you ſee juſt above the ſhore on your right hand, an elephant, coarſely cut out in ſtone, of the natural bigneſs, and at ſome little diſtance not impoſſible to be taken for a real elephant, from the ſtone being naturally of the color of that beaſt. It ſtands on a platform of ſtones of the ſame color. On the back of this elephant was placed ſtanding another young one, appearing to have been all of the ſame ſtone, but has been long broken down. Of the meaning, or hiſtory of this image, there is no tradition old enough to give any account.

Returning then to the foot of the hill, you aſcend an eaſy ſlant, which about half way up the hill brings you to the opening or portal of a large cavern hewn out of the ſolid rock, into a magnificent temple; for ſuch ſurely it may be termed, conſidering the immenſe workmanſhip of ſuch an excavation, and ſeems to me a far more bold attempt than that of the pyramids of Egypt. There is a fair entrance into this ſubterraneous temple, which is an oblong ſquare, in length about eighty or ninety foot, by forty broad. The roof is nothing but the rock cut flat a-top, and in which I could not diſcern any thing that did not ſhew it to be all of one piece. It is about ten foot high, and ſupported towards the middle at equidiſtance from the ſides, and from one another, with two regular rows of pillars of a ſingular order. They are very maſſive, ſhort in proportion to their thickneſs, and their capital bears ſome reſemblance to a round

round cuſhion, preſſed by the ſuper-incumbent mountain, with which they are alſo of one piece. At the further end of this temple are three gigantic figures, the face of one of which is at leaſt five foot in length, and of a proportionable breadth: but theſe repreſentations have no reference or connection either to any known hiſtory, or to the mythology of the Gentoos. They had alſo continued in a tolerable ſtate of preſervation and wholeneſs, conſidering the remoteneſs of their antiquity, until the arrival of the Portugueſe, who made themſelves maſters of this place, and in the blind fury of their bigotry, not ſuffering any idols but their own, they muſt have been at even ſome pains to maim and deface them, as they now remain, conſidering the hardneſs of the ſtone. It is ſaid, they even brought field-pieces to the demolition of images, which ſo greatly deſerved to be ſpared for the unequalled curioſity of them. Of this queen Catherine of Portugal was it ſeems ſo ſenſible, that ſhe could not conceive that any traveller could return from that ſide of India, without viſiting the wonders of this cavern; of which too the ſight appeared to me to exceed all the deſcriptions I had ever read of them. About two thirds of the way up this temple, on each ſide, and fronting each other, are two doors or out-lets, into ſmaller grots or excavations, and freely open to the air. Near and about the door-way, on the right hand, are alſo ſeveral mutilated images, ſingle and in groupes. In one of the laſt I remarked a kind of reſemblance to the ſtory of Solomon dividing the child, there ſtanding a figure with a drawn ſword, holding in one hand an infant with the head downwards, which it appears in act to cleave through the middle. The out-let of the other on the left hand, is into an area of about twenty feet in length, and twelve in breadth, at the upper end

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of which, as you turn to the right, presents itself a colonnade covered a-top, of ten or twelve foot deep, and in length answering to the breadth of the area; this joins to an apartment of the most regular architecture, an oblong square, with a door in perfect symmetry; and the whole executed in quite a different taste and manner from the oldest or best Gentoo buildings any where extant. I took particular notice of some painting round the cornishes, not for any thing curious in the design, but for the beauty and freshness of the coloring, which must have lasted for some thousands of years, on supposing it, as there is all reason so to do, cotemporary with the building itself. The floor of this apartment is generally full of water, its pavement or ground-work not permitting it to drain off or be soaked up. For it is to be observed, that even the cavern itself is not visitable after the rains, until the ground of it has had time to dry into a competent hardness.

In the mean time it seems to me somewhat surprizing, that so admirable, so stupendous a work as this which one would think almost above the reach of human performance, cannot by any books or tradition, that ever I could hear of, be traced up to its authors, no not even by conjecture. For to give that name to the ridiculous opinion of its having been executed by Alexander's order, would be doing it too much honor. In the first place, it is clear both by history and tradition, that the Macedonian conqueror never penetrated so far into India. Or was it even true that he did, What likelihood is there that he should employ his army, or any body of men, on a little island not three miles in circuit, without a drop of fresh water on it, and quite wide of his route, to hew such a temple out of the middle of a mountain, the bare excavation of which out of a solid rock must have

taken a number of years? To ſay nothing of the chizzeling it into the regular form of pillars, and the reſt of the architecture which it to this day exhibits. Beſides, there is not in the images, or ſculptures, to be found the leaſt ſhadow of alluſion to the hiſtory, manners, or worſhip of the Macedonians; and what is yet more unaccountable, no not even of the Gentoos. The likelieſt conjecture then that occurs is, that the religion of theſe laſt muſt have undergone ſome revolution (though this they ſtrictly deny) and that this temple muſt be the work of the old Aborigines of the country. This conjecture is confirmed by the preſent Gentoos not retaining, that ever I could learn, any veneration for this place, or any regard for it, but on account of its undoubted antiquity. Perhaps, if a proper enquiry was to be made, there might be found among ſome of the Bramins of the continent, who are the depoſitories of the antienteſt hiſtories, as well as of oral traditions, ſome accounts whereby to aſcertain the epoch and origin of this next-to-miraculous work, ſo as to ſatisfy the curioſity of the lovers of antiquity, and who could never have a more noble object. In the mean time, it were to be wiſhed, that ſome good draughtſman would oblige the public with accurate drawings and dimenſions taken on the ſpot, examining withal the continuity of the rock thus excavated, the hardneſs of it, and calculating the time, and numbers of men it muſt have taken up to bring it into its form. For certainly there is to be found in it wherewithal to exerciſe worthily the pencil of a Cornelius le Brun, whoſe juſtneſs cannot enough be commended; and it is impoſſible for mere verbal deſcription to give an adequate idea of it.

This place being ſo near Bombay, affords the Engliſh inhabitants there, not only an eaſy opportunity of gratifying their curioſity, in viſiting

ſo remarkable a ſpot, but occaſionally of a very agreeable party of pleaſure. Sometimes in their way thither they dine at Butcher's iſland, on account of the conveniency of the officer's houſe to receive them. Others again prefer carrying their proviſions with them, and dine in the cave itſelf, than which, in the moſt ſultry days of the heats, there cannot be imagined a cooler and more pleaſant retreat. For though the air be almoſt on fire, you are no ſooner entered the cave, than you are refreſhed with a ſenſible coolneſs. The three openings abovementioned not only furniſhing ſufficient light, but a thorough draught of air, that does not ſo much convey freſhneſs into the cave, as it receives it from its conſtant temperature, preſerved to it by its impenetrability to the ſun, from the thickneſs of the mountainous maſs above it: and even the light that comes into it through the portals, has loſt by the way all the force of thoſe fiery-particles, to which it gives ſo great an activity. For it is obſerved in India, as well as in all hot countries, that the excluſion of light, is in ſome meaſure an excluſion of heat, and that but darkening an apartment only, ſenſibly cools it. This rule admits of no exception, except in places where the ſoil and ſituation are of ſuch a nature, as to continue the heat, even after the actual preſence of the ſun is withdrawn; as in Gombroon on the coaſt of Perſia for example, where a high maſſive hill behind it, to which it is a kind of focal point, and the bituminous quality of the earth, are circumſtances that do not allow of the air's cooling between the ſun-ſet and ſun-riſe.

But, aſking pardon for this digreſſion, and reſuming my preſent ſubject, I am to obſerve, that for the reſt, this iſland contains nothing more that is worthy of notice. There are not above two or three huts upon it; which is not ſurprizing, conſidering

ſidering the little land there is to cultivate, and that there is no water on it, but what may be ſaved from the rains. The growth of the hill itſelf is only underwood, and graſs; which, in the dry ſeaſon, are often ſet on fire, and will continue burning for three or four days; attended with this benefit, of fertilizing any cultivable ſpots on it, and of the ſalts being waſhed down by the rains into the lower grounds; a practice that is much followed in all thoſe countries, which they call burning the land.

To the northward of the iſland of Bombay, and in one place, at Sion, only divided from it by a narrow paſs fordable at low water, lies the comparatively great and fertile iſland of Salſett; our being defrauded of which is a loſs can never enough be regretted, and is at this day ſo bitterly felt by the company, and in coarſe ſo detrimentally to the Engliſh intereſt.

It is in length about twenty-ſix miles, and on a medium breadth of eight or nine. The ſoil very rich, and improvable by cultivation into the bearing of every thing producible between the tropics. It is every where well-watered, but was employed by the Portugueſe chiefly to raiſe rice, with which it uſed to furniſh Goa, and was called its granary. There is alſo great ſtore of almoſt all manner of game on it, both of the fur and feather. In ſhort, I cannot eaſily conceive that there can be a more agreeable ſpot in the univerſe. But it was eſſentially neceſſary to Bombay, which, with its number of inhabitants, cannot well ſubſiſt without its ſupplies of all manner of proviſions.

Nothing could be harder than to disjoin it from the regality of Bombay, to which it ſtood formally annexed, and was conſequently comprehended in the treaty of ceſſion. In lieu of accompliſhing which, in breach of all the rules of good faith,

faith, they put us off with a place that had no merit in it, but the bare harbor, and its being the nominal ſeat of government; which however, under the Portugueſe, could raiſe it to no conſideration beyond that of a poor fiſhing-place. And even this ſingle iſland of Bombay, thus amputated of its vital member, they did not yield up, not till after they had obliged the Engliſh commander, ſent out by the king with forces to take poſſeſſion of it, to winter on a ſmall wretched iſland down the coaſt, called Anjadiva, where he loſt the beſt part of his men through ſickneſs, want of proviſions, and inconvenience of lodgment. At length however the Engliſh, wearied out with a fruitleſs inſiſtence, were weak enough to compound for a part, ſince the whole of their due was thus perfidiouſly withheld from them; and being admitted to the poſſeſſion of Bombay, that too was clogged with the reſtrictions relating to private property, which I have before-mentioned, and which might have been thought no more than reaſonable, if the other part of the dominion annexed to it had been thrown in.

Thus this part of the dower of queen Catharine of Portugal, to whom her barrenneſs can never be mentioned as a reproach, but only as a misfortune both to her and the nation, was almoſt ſhrunk to nothing; for the improvement of the Engliſh afterwards cannot be taken into the reckoning. Every one knows what was the fate of Tangiers on the coaſt of Barbary, ſoon after demoliſhed and given up, on account of the expence of it not anſwering the ends of keeping it, for which reaſon only, the Portugueſe were probably induced to part with it to us. Even too the ſum collaterally paid for the dower of the queen, was by that good-natured king employed in an armament appropriated to the protection and defence of Portugal

 itſelf,

itſelf, againſt the deſigns of the Spaniards upon it; who were at that time looked upon in no other light than a revolted province. But there was ſtill a worſe conſequence attended that inauſpicious alliance, which has not been at leaſt generally remarked, and that is, that we undoubtedly loſt the trade of Japan by it; and this will not appear a forced or far-fetched inference, to thoſe who ſhall combine with it, the circumſtance of the Portugueſe being about that time expelled Japan, with all the deteſtation and reſentment of which that nation was capable, and for which it was ſo juſtifiable, after their prieſts being the cauſe of the maſſacre of above forty thouſand revolted Japaneſe, beſides numbers executed with tortures, in cold blood, to whom the church of Rome has given the appellation of martyrs; though nothing is more certain, that this extermination of the Chriſtians took place purely upon a political, and by no means a religious account, which was only the acceſſary motive. Whilſt the Portugueſe or Romiſh prieſts contented themſelves with preaching the tenets of their religion, however oppoſite they were, or repugnant to the eſtabliſhed one of the country; they had all the liberty, nay all the encouragement imaginable. But when that nation, always jealous of foreigners, and now wiſe in time, diſcovered that under the pretext of propagating their doctrine, they formed parties in the ſtate, and even intermeddled with the ſucceſſion which they caballed to make it fall on one of their favorers; when the Japaneſe, I ſay, were informed, by the indiſcreet confeſſion of one of the Spaniſh commanders (for Portugal was then annexed to Spain) that the way his maſter had made uſe of to ſubdue many nations, was to ſend miſſionaries before, whoſe buſineſs it was to form a ſufficient party among their converts, to join with ſuch forces as ſhould be ſent to ſubdue the

the rest; no wonder that thus forewarned as they were, that fierce, suspicious people took the alarm, and were determined to get rid at any rate of such dangerous innovators, and proceeded to the extremities they did, on finding that nothing less than such extremities were necessary. But even then the English were not involved in that proscription and expulsion. They remained upon toleration, and at least upon as good a footing as the Dutch themselves. But these last, in pursuit of their scheme of engrossing this trade, made no scruple of availing themselves of so favorable a conjuncture, as that of our alliance by marriage with the king of Portugal, whom the Japanese considered with reason as their bitterest and perpetual enemy. They insinuated then to the emperor the danger to him from this connection, and gave such plausible colors to it, and drew such probable inferences from it, that alarmed his jealousy; upon which he lumped conclusions against us, and forbad the return of any of our ships there, on pain of death, a prohibition which has not been repealed to this day.

All these considerations on which I have the more insisted, as they set the injustice done us in the detention of the island of Salsett in the stronger light, evince the truth of that general remark, of the English being so liable to be over-reached in their negotiations, treaties, and compacts.

However, it was some alleviation of the damage we sustained, that at least this island, whilst in the hands of the Portuguese, formed a barrier to us, against the invasions of the Morattoes; and whilst we were at peace with that crown, and there appeared no probability but of its continuance, Bombay enjoyed, in some measure, the advantages

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of that island's produce, and supplies of provisions, which was also a mutual benefit.

But such was the supine indolence, and blindness of the Portuguese government to its own interest, that notwithstanding it was so inflexibly resolute in keeping possession of this island, which was so much our due, from us, I say, who were their friends and allies, it took no sort of care to defend it against their constant and natural enemies the Morattoes; yet nothing was easier than to secure it. Those people had not then the least maritime force, and the island could only be attacked by land at one very narrow pass, fordable at ebb only, which was called the pass of Tannah. Here they had only a miserable redoubt, of no awe, or strength. At length, however, on the appearance of an approaching rupture with the Morattoes, they began to see the expediency of fortifying this important post; and with an absurdity hardly to be believed, they began the construction of a fort, that would have indeed effectually answered the design, if the Morattoes could be supposed such ideots as to suffer them to finish it, when they had not provided even the shadow of a force to cover the building, or repel any interruption of it. Accordingly the Morattoes very quietly let them go on with the fortification, of which themselves were sure of reaping the benefit. For before it was finished, and well-nigh finished it was, they poured their troops into the island, and easily took a fort, the walls of which were in some places open, and the batteries yet unmounted with cannon; after which they had not the least opposition worth mentioning to encounter on the rest of this island: the fort of Bandurah, or rather a fortified house of the jesuits, over-against Mahim, not holding out two days. In short, this great and noble island fell as easy a prey to the Morattoes as themselves could

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have wished: by which means Bombay is now become a frontier open to their incursion, or invasion, upon the least misunderstanding; which can hardly be avoided, sooner or later, with a people naturally unstable, ignorant of their own interests, or at least, and at best very indifferent to commercial ones, preferring, like most of the Orientals, a momentary present profit, either to a lasting one, or to a much greater one, if at any distance of time. Besides, that without any actual hostility, they may greatly streighten and distress Bombay, both by non-concurrence to its supplies from Salsett, and by interrupting their inland communication with the continent, of which the pass of Tannah is as it were the key. And with respect to these people, it is not now, as formerly, when the Europeans could over-awe them with their artillery, and superior skill of war, a superiority, which though still preserved, is not however equal to the advantage that is on their side of infinitely superior numbers, who are besides no longer to be frightened with the noise of powder, and in the use of which themselves are so greatly improved, as to practice mines, and mortars, in which if they do not as yet equal the Europeans, they have however learnt not to be so much afraid of them, as they at first were, when less acquainted with them. Besides, when the Portuguese first made their settlements in those parts by force, the country-powers were all disunited, and too much at variance among themselves, as well as too constantly kept in check by the Mogul government, to act effectually against those invaders, and oppose their fortifying in their country. But the case is now greatly reversed with them, in all these points.

SALSETT, then subjected to their dominion, reduces the tenure of Bombay itself to very precarious terms, and consequently lessens its value, in

proportion as it lessens its security. Though for the present perhaps, the Gentoo government may be rightly sensible of the advantages it derives from Bombay being in the hands of the English; advantages which it knows itself too well to hope the continuance of them, upon taking it from them; yet such is the natural fickleness of those people, such the spirit of rapine and plunder, and the greediness for immediate profit, constitutional to them, that there is no solid dependence to be placed on their sentiments from one day to another. Nor could all the fortifications of Bombay be supposed capable of holding out against them, if they are once bent on a conquest of it; especially as they look upon it as an annexion to Sallett that is wanting to compleat their conquest of the coast; and besides, as originally belonging to themselves, in quality of the natural lords of the whole country.

They can with ease bring from an hundred to two hundred thousand men into the field, most of them horse, inured to the climate, and not unfurnished with fire-arms and artillery. They are at home, and capable of being constantly supplied with fresh recruits. Imagine then if Bombay could expect to hold out long against them, if they should be in earnest to reduce it. How far in the right they were, I will not pretend to say; but when they first heard of the ditch projected round the town-wall, and of its dimensions, they affected at least to hold it very cheap. "Let them alone "(said they) it is not at present worth our while "to break with the English; but whenever that "shall be the case, we can fill their ditch up in "one night's time with our slippers." I suppose, that at that time they had no idea of its being a wet one; though that would not much increase the difficulties of the siege.

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Thus by the fatal relinquishment of our undoubted right, to a nation that made so ill an use of it, we have in Salsett lost all that could render Bombay essentially valuable. The extent of it, the fertility, the excellence of its waters, every thing in short that could be acquired, should have drawn to us a confluence of the greatest merchants in the neighboring countries, and from Surat especially, who were strongly invited by that mildness and liberty in our government, of which they were, one may say, eye-witnesses. Their sole objection was the smallness of the island, and the indifferent water: whereas in Salsett there was room enough to spread themselves, and the water as before observed excellent. In short, by the addition of Salsett, Bombay might have been easily made as considerable to the English as Batavia to the Dutch, with all their advantages of the neighboring spice-islands; as this harbor is so near Surat, the center of the Indian trade, and every way commodious for commanding the navigation of the Indian seas.

In even the unimproved, and tradeless condition of that island, under the Portuguese government, its revenue was, upon a tolerably just estimate, computed at near five lacks of rupees, or sixty thousand pounds sterling per annum; which, to reckon at the rate Bombay has been with all its disadvantages improved by the English, is not, moderately speaking, the fourth part of what it would have produced to us, to say nothing of the inestimable benefit it would in all probability have been in other respects, and especially that of our then having every thing necessary within ourselves.

For the rest, except the abundant riches of nature, there is nothing remarkable in it but the ruins of a place called Canara, being excavations of rocks, supposed cotemporary with that of Ele-

phanta, and are much more numerous, but none of them approaching to it in bigneſs or workmanſhip.

The mountains of it are pretty high, and there is a tradition that they emerged together with the ſubjacent land out of the ſea, by a violent earthquake: to confirm which it is pretended, that there was on the top of the higheſt hill, not many years ago, found a ſtone-anchor, ſuch as was antiently uſed for the veſſels of that country; but I cannot ſay, that I ever heard this ſtory was founded on any good authority.

If any one however ſhould hereafter attempt a ſurvey or deſcription of Elephanta, it will doubtleſs be alſo worth his while to paſs over to Salſett, and take a view of Canara, as it may probably furniſh him with lights, and conjectures, by the compariſon of both.

When this iſland was loſt to the Portugueſe, and conſequently the jeſuits, who were owners of much the largeſt part of the land, were the greateſt ſufferers, none were however leſs pitied even by the Portugueſe themſelves, eſpecially by thoſe from whoſe families their arts had extorted their poſſeſſions. Their inſolence too was as boundleſs as their avarice, which laſt has prevented the iſland from being fortified, whilſt it was yet time from their backwardneſs to contribute their quota of the charges. Thus the more they had to loſe, the leſs were they willing to pay towards ſecuring it.

It was a melancholy ſight on the loſs of Salſett, to ſee the many families forced to ſeek refuge on Bombay, and among them ſome Portugueſe Hidalgos, or noblemen, reduced of a ſudden from very floriſhing circumſtances to utter beggary. However, they found relief from the uſual generoſity of the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the juſt matter

ter of complaint they had againſt their nation, eſpecially on the occaſion of that very iſland, the loſs of which through ſuch ſcandalous negligence brought ſo great a danger home to their own doors: they found, at Bombay, an hoſpitable refuge, and all the friendly entertainment and conſolation they could wiſh. One of them was extremely pitied by the Engliſh, a gentleman called John de Souza Ferras, who was before that time poſſeſſor of a very conſiderable eſtate in Salſett, and who had greatly endeared himſelf to the Engliſh by his kind and generous reception of them at his houſe whenever the occaſion offered. He continues I believe to this day, if alive, at Bombay, very much careſſed and eſteemed by the Engliſh gentlemen who were acquainted with him in his proſperity.

BOOK III.

Of the MORATTOES, and ANGRIA.

CHAP. I.

Of the MORATTOES. *Derivation of their name. Aboringes* GENTOOS: *conduct of the* MOGULS *towards them.—Rise of the* SAHA *or* SOW-RAJAHS. *—Disposition of the* Morattoes. *Proficients in engineering; nature of their troops. Curious in their arms.—Situation of* BOMBAY *with respect to them. Opinion of the wealth of* Bombay. *Rapaciousness of the* Morattoes: *frank acquiescense in their character of perfidiousness: not sanguinary: their usage of captives in war. The fort of* RAREE, *the residence of the* Saha, *or* MAR-RAJAH: *his subjects credulous in astrology. Story of the* Mar-Rajah *and a reputed sorceress. Description of the* Morattoes *persons and dress. Their women; and the charge against them of poisoning their husbands groundless.*

AFTER speaking of the islands, there remains to add some account of the continent bordering upon Bombay, to which one may say it is, in some measure, contiguous; since by the means of the two forts at Sion, and Tannah, one may pass to it without taking boat: but as all that is necessary to be mentioned of it is included in the description to be here given of the Morattoes, who are lords of all the neighboring parts of it, there is no need of making a separate article of it.

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The name of Morattoes, or Marattas, is, I have reason to think, a derivation, in their country-language, or by corruption, from Mar-Rajah the chief, or rather, to speak more justly, the king of that powerful tribe, having all the distinction and essence of sovereign power centering in his person. But this name of Morattoes is purely local, and confined to their own country; for all over India, and no farther off than Surat, they are more currently known by the appellation of Ghenims, unless their late spread of conquest should have more generalized it than it was before. As to the word Ghenim, if I am not greatly mistaken, it imports as much as free-booter, and is bestowed not only on the Morattoes, but all those mountaineer tribes of the Gentoos, who commonly make a war rather of pillage or plunder, than a regular one for glory or conquest.

But to give some idea of this people at present so powerful, that they have brought near all Indostan under their subjection, and give laws even to the Mogul government, it will be necessary to trace them summarily to their origin.

It is then to be observed, that when the Mongul-Tartars, whence the title of Mogul is apparently derived, founded their sovereignty upon the expulsion of the Pattan-Moors, and in proportion as they extended their conquests over the country, many of the Aborigines Gentoos, who were incapable of making head against them in the field, or plains, and unwilling to submit to the yoke from the sworn enemies to the Gentoo-worship, who, wherever they penetrated by force of arms, made it a point of religion to destroy their temples and idols, with all the fury of bigot-zeal, they retired for shelter to the numerous mountains of Indostan, and there burrowed in inaccessible fastnesses; upon which Aurengzeb gave them the humorous nick-

name

name of mountain-rats. But then, as these Gentoos were split into various tribes, under chiefs of different families, whose disunion had already facilitated the invasion of the country, first to the Pattans, and then to the Moguls; the dissensions and jealousies still continued in force enough to hinder them from uniting against the common enemy. Of this the Moguls, in the flourishing state of their empire, knew perfectly well how to take the advantage, and put in practice that great state maxim of dividing in order to govern. What then by courting some, by menacing others, and by awing all of them with standing armies, which if they could not penetrate into their strong holds, or absolutely conquer them, could still straiten and distress them, they brought several of their Rajahs under a kind of tributary subjection, and had art and interest enough to oppose them against each other. Some of them even came occasionally to court, and not only paid personal homage to the Mogul, but did military duty and service round the court, while they still reserved their respective dominions in the mountains. While the Moguls continued this practice of sowing dissensions among those warlike tribes, and of employing occasionally and aptly the ways of rigor, or of compliance, to intimidate or sooth powers, which were impenetrable for their armies to destroy, that empire enjoyed a tolerable state of peace and security. But as soon as the government began to relax on that capital point, having fallen into the hands of a succession of indolent princes, engrossed by the pleasures of their seraglio's, and weakened by the contempt into which their negligence plunged them; the Rajahs perceived the change, and lifted their heads upon it. They could easily have recovered the dominion of the whole country out of the Mogul's hands, if they had not still persisted in such

their

their disunion, that they could not agree among themselves who should possess the empire. They had rather see it in its nominal subjection to the Tartar family, than any one of their own nation assume it over the rest; and each minding only to incroach upon it for his own particular benefit, the whole state of Indostan remained and still remains a common prey to their several incursions, and devastations, which is the only point wherein these Rajahs agree.

It was towards the latter end of Aurengzeb's days, that one of those Rajahs, called Sevajee, or rather Sow-rajah, took the advantage of that monarch's declining as well in judgment as in years, set up openly the standard of revolt, and bearded him with the pillage twice repeated of Surat, the capital town of trade of his whole dominions. Nay, so secure was he of his point in it, so assured of the negligence and supineness of the government, that he intimated to the town the day he had prefixed for entering and plundering it, and was as good as his word; not having met with the least opposition, unless in the English and Dutch factories, whose posture of defence saved them from sharing the common fate.

By this exploit, and other successful enterprises on the Mogul dominions, he acquired such strength and reputation, as enabled him to give a certain consistence, and regular form of government to that assemblage of free-booters, which he had collected out of the mountains of Deckan, and whom the temptation of pillage had united under his standard. Master then, by continual encroachments every way round him, of a considerable and populous body of dominion, he assumed the title now continued to his successors of Mar-rajah, or Arch-rajah; and appeared in a condition to give laws to the Mogul empire; at the worst he was assured of

there

there being no human possibility of coming at or driving him out of his inaccessible retreats in the mountains. Yet, it is observable, that all the time he was acting thus in open defiance to the Mogul emperor, he never professedly threw off a nominal submission to his throne. He had even the assurance to style himself his general in Deckan. These measures he doubtless kept out of regard to the jealousy of the other Rajahs, who had not yet so openly renounced their vassalage, and who differed from him however in nothing but their appearances more, while they claimed in fact as absolute an independence.

His successors pursued invariably his system of politics and activity: and as their dominions encreased, they set on foot more numerous and more regular armies, under able generals: so that from a set of banditti or free-booters they assumed a more national form, without departing in the least from their original spirit of rapine and plunder. One would otherwise naturally think, that as fast as they formed their state into order and consistence, they would encourage trade, which is every where, by civilized nations, considered as one of its chief supports: but, hitherto at least, they have given no indication of a commercial turn: on the contrary, wherever their arms have penetrated, or their influence extended, they have destroyed all trade and manufactures. On the coast, a little to the southward of Bombay, there existed not long since some very considerable manufactures, which were annihilated by the oppression and harrassments exercised on the artizans, insomuch that there is not the footstep of them left. At present they seem to have placed their whole dependence on the sword: nor do they want for great caution, conduct, and policy in the extention of their dominions. They seem in no hurry for pushing their

conquest,

conqueſt, but patiently wait for their beſt time and opportunity: and even where they meet with a repulſe, they yield with great ſuppleneſs to the force of the conjecture; they retreat with as good a grace as if they had ſucceeded, and prepare their meaſures cooly to return afreſh as opportunity may favor them.

They have encouraged deſerters from the European nations, from whom they learnt the art of engineering, as far as the ſkill or knowledge of thoſe deſerters reached; the Indians in general being ready imitators to a certain point, or ſtandard, at which they commonly ſtop, not being curious of perfection in any thing. It has however been obſerved, that though they gave ſuch deſerters a pretty high pay, compared to the ſmall one with which they ſatiſfy their own natives, ſhould they ſave or hoard up any ſum, which by the by they rarely do, they do not ſuffer them to quit the country, unleſs at the hazard of a dangerous eſcape, or unleſs they purchaſe their freedom with a delivery of all they are worth. But, in truth, and conſiſtently enough with ſuch treatment, no Europeans take ſervice among them, except ſuch as are of deſperate fortunes, or have committed crimes that obliged them to ſeek refuge there. When ſuch Europeans have exhauſted their ſtrength, and power of ſervice, they are ſuffered to languiſh in miſery and poverty, neglected and deſpiſed by thoſe their employers.

By this means however the Morattoes have been rendered capable of forming regular ſieges, with which they were before utterly unacquainted. Thus, when they took Baſſaim from the Portugueſe, a place ſtrongly fortified, at leaſt ſuppoſed ſo againſt any attempts of theirs, which is ſituate on the coaſt on the continent a few miles to the northward of Bombay, they erected regular batteries,

teries, threw in bomb-ſhells, and proceeded by ſap and mine, until the town ſaw itſelf forced to ſurrender.

YET with all this, their troops * are fitter for a war of incurſion, than for regular campaigns. They are chiefly compoſed of land-tillers, called Corumbees, with whom their ſeed-time and harveſt are eſſential points to be conſulted, and adjuſted to their expeditions; for their manner of government admitting no importations, or material ſupplies from without, they would run the hazard of a famine on any deficiency of cultivation. Thus they are equally bred to agriculture and arms, and perhaps are not the worſe ſoldiers for this alteration. Their pay is extremely ſmall, and that generally not furniſhed in money, but in rice, tobacco, ſalt, pieces of apparel, and other neceſſaries of life, which are there at a cheap rate. And indeed otherwiſe their bringing ſuch numerous armies into the field could not be accounted for, conſidering their excluſion of trade.

THEIR horſes, on which they chiefly rely, are a ſmall but hardy breed, like that of the mountains of Scotland, inured to fatigue, and of ſecure footing for the rugged roads among the hills, and a very ſmall matter of forage ſerves them.

FOR arms, a great many of them have muſkets, but generally indifferent ones, and moſt of them match-locks. Theſe they uſe chiefly in buſh-fighting, where when they have made a diſcharge, they retreat in a hurry to their main body: but their chief dependence is on their ſwords and targets. Their ſwords are, generally ſpeaking, of an admirable temper, and they are well trained up to the exerciſe of them; ſo that on all occaſions in

* See vol. II. introduction, p. xi.

battle

battle, they quit their musket, and betake themselves to them with great succefs. They are fo curious in the blades, that they hold the European broad fwords in great contempt, efpecially the common-fale ones, that are fent out by our fhips. When the Derby, captain Anfell, was fo fcandaloufly taken by a few of Angria's grabs, whofe marines are exactly the fame as the Morattoes, and often fome of their fubjects; there fell into Angria's hands, among a great quantity of other valuable military ftores, fome chefts of fword blades, on examining of which Angria faid, that the Englifh fwords were only fit to cut butter with.

As to their targets, they are exactly round, convexing almoft to a point on the out-fide, light, and covered with fo fmooth and hard a varnifh or lacquer, that if tolerably good, they will eafily turn a piftol-ball, and at fome little diftance a mufket one.

They alfo have among them excellent flingers, and archers; but of thefe they make lately lefs account fince the introduction of fire-arms; though, confidering their imperfection in the management of thefe laft, it is a query whether they are much gainers by the change.

As to the reft of their drefs, nothing can be imagined meaner. A roll of coarfe muflin round their heads, to which they give the name of puckery, or turbant, or perhaps a bit of cloth, or ftriped callico, or cuttance-cap; a lungee or clout, barely to cover their nakednefs, and a pamree or loofe mantle to throw over their fhoulders, or to lye on upon the ground, compofes the whole of their wardrobe. This however is only to be underftood of their common men, though the officers do not much out-figure them: fo that nothing can prefent a more defpicable appearance than thefe troops, together with their little ill-favored horfes,

 the

the furniture of which is in a ſtile anſwerable to the reſt.

THEN their diet is extremely portable; they require no great magazines of proviſions, no ovens, or embarraſſment of waggons. A little rice, and a leathern flaſk for water, which they call a Metarrah, are all that is requiſite, ſo that every ſoldier may eaſily carry his own allowance: nor do the officers fare more ſumptuouſly, nothing being ſo plain as their food, eſpecially during their expeditions, which they conduct with amazing rapidity, and not too without great ſtratagem and cunning.

AGAINST ſuch numbers, with the advantage of being in their own country, it is not very probable, that any force we could afford from Europe ſhould materially or ultimately prevail. Otherwiſe nothing could be more for the Engliſh intereſt, than endeavoring to reconquer the iſland of Salſett from them, for reaſons too obvious to need a recapitulation here: but it is now only mentioned to explode a propoſal, I am told was once made of ſuch an attempt. The ſituation of Bombay is however now rendered ſo precarious, that there is no ſuch thing as either quarrelling with the Morattoes to advantage, or truſting to them with ſafety, nor indeed ſeeing any end of this dilemma.

IF they were a people capable of hearing reaſon on their true permanent intereſts, in contradiſtinction to their momentary ones, they might eaſily ſee that Bombay, in the hands of the Engliſh, is a greater advantage to them, than if it was in their own; as it is a great inlet of trade into all their dominions that lye round it, by means of the ſeveral creeks and rivers that communicate with that harbor, a trade which themſelves for many reaſons could not expect to invite or bring into them. They are alſo well aſſured, that the Engliſh

English court no settlements but on account of their commerce, always beneficial to the countries round about, and never dangerous to them, from its not being attended with the spirit of conquest, even their forts being rather mere warehouses than curbs upon the natives. These are arguments too, of the force of which they will sometimes own themselves convinced, and perhaps really are so at the time, but then there is no dependence on their continuance in that mind. A change of their ministers, a fancy that shall take them in the head; that Bombay would afford a good present pillage, or a scheme of humoring their troops, who are never better pleased than with a promise of plunder; any of these, or the like motives, are sufficient to make them break of a sudden through all their resolutions, and ties of a greater interest; and what is more, though known to themselves to be so.

The principal men among them, though probably better informed themselves, cannot root out of the minds of the bulk of that people in general, a strong notion, that Bombay incloses great riches, an idea which they do not fail of annexing to trade, and which, such is their constitutional indisposition towards it, they are not yet tempted to introduce, or improve in their own dominions. This false opinion however they have of the advantage accruing to the company from the possession of Bombay, though it is far from paying its own charges, and is only kept for the convenience of its other settlements and factories, has such an influence, that they think no demands too exorbitant for purchasing their toleration and tranquility.

As an instance of this way of thinking in those people, may be produced the terms on which Samboo or Sambajee Angria insisted, when certain overtures of peace were set on foot between him and the government of Bombay. After some pre-

face on the prodigious advantages of the Engliſh trade on that coaſt, which muſt in courſe enable them to afford what he demanded, he confined himſelf however to no larger a ſum than twelve lacks of rupees, or about one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds per annum, which he required in conſideration of his deſiſtence from his hoſtilities, and non-interruption of our navigation. I do not know that he ever ſunk his demand afterwards; but only that the Engliſh government treated his propoſal with the contempt it deſerved, and made a jeſt of it. Nor was this indeed worth mentioning, but to ſhew the popular opinion in thoſe parts of the wealth of the Engliſh, which inſpires the country-government leſs with reſpect, than with a deſire of plundering them.

Nor can this unfavorable diſpoſition of the Morattoes towards foreign merchants be much wondered at, when it is equally and more ſo towards thoſe of their own country. For the few that are induced to live under their government, for the ſake of the gain to be made on the traffic of the abſolutely neceſſaries of life, are obliged to conceal, as they would murder, their being in good circumſtances. Towards which they affect all the appearances of poverty, in their houſes, dreſs, and all externals, to avoid being pointed out as a prey to their rapacious government, which is ſure ultimately not to ſpare any rich ſubjects, though they will ſometimes leave them quietly for a long time to gather wealth, which they look on as ſo much in bank for themſelves, whenever they pleaſe to call it in: and in this point they make no diſtinction of any rank or condition, but that of the great military officers, whoſe property is more reſpected for obvious reaſons of ſtate. They are their inſtruments of oppreſſion, whom it is not ſo ſafe to diſoblige or diſcourage. But, though they are Gen-

toos,

toos, whom one would in courſe think awed by their prieſts or bramins, they ſpare them no more than the reſt, when they are reputed rich, and will, without ſtanding upon any ceremony with them, uſe menaces, and even tortures, to ſqueeze money out of them. This ſhews they are either not overloaded with religious ſcruples, or that they look on the temporalities of their prieſts, as making no part of the ſacredneſs of the function, and that they are not diſqualified for officiating their ſpiritual duties by their want of worldly wealth.

As this rapacioufneſs is chiefly the characteriſtic of the Gentoo government, whereas that of the Moors or Moguls is much more temperate and juſt, it is often the reaſon why thoſe of their ſubjects, who can eſcape the dangerous repute of being rich, bury their wealth in ſecret places, unknown often to their neareſt relations, and even to their heirs, when by chance they died ſuddenly, or at a diſtance from their homes. Beſides, ſuch is their tenacioufneſs of theſe treaſures, that when ſome, in conſequence of their falling under the ſuſpicion of wealth, have been expoſed to violent tortures, they have had the conſtancy to hold out, and keep the ſecret of their hoards, though in all other points they were known to be the arranteſt cowards. In the mean time, by unexaggerated accounts, it is amazing to reflect what immenſe treaſures have been buried and loſt on ſolely this principle of preſervation; for it is an utter fable, that they are looked upon as uſeful to them in the other life. A proof of which is, that the ſame ſort of people are never known to bury their treaſures under a free government, where they are not afraid of being pillaged, and where they can ſafely leave them to their heirs. I have heard it averred, that the ſums of money thus interred in the courſe of paſt ages, at leaſt equal thoſe in preſent circula-

tion all over Indoſtan. Perhaps this eſtimate is hyperbolical, though there are not wanting good reaſons to countenance it.

So much is certain, that the Gentoo merchants, eſpecially the Banyans, and even the Bramins or Gentoo-prieſts, prefer living under a Mooriſh government, or indeed any government to that of the Gentoos; being at leaſt ſure that they can no where meet with leſs ſafety, or more oppreſſive exactions. Surat is one inſtance of this, which is crowded with Gentoo merchants, and mechanics of all ſorts; where, though they are ſome times expoſed to the avarice and vexations of bad governors, they are only tranſient and partial ſtorms: whereas the Gentoo government is one continued and univerſal ſyſtem of violence and injuſtice.

Such are the people now the immediate neighbors of Bombay, in whoſe character nevertheleſs there is ſomething paradoxical. For though too perfidious to be ever ſafely truſted, at leaſt they do not, like a polite neighboring nation in Europe, affect a parade of ſincerity or good faith. They do not deſire to be taken to be more honeſt than they are, and would be the firſt to laugh at thoſe who ſhould repoſe any confidence in them. They make no profeſſions of friendſhip beyond words of common courſe, or ſet formularies of compliments, which they do not expect ſhould be taken for more than they are worth. They never ſet forth any pompous maniſeſts, decked with the falſe colors of eloquence, of their good intentions to the peace of mankind, at the inſtant that they are taking all the meaſures in their power to diſturb it. They conſider themſelves always in a ſtate of war, open or underſtood, with thoſe powers whoſe dominions they covet; and conſequently think, that all feints, ſtratagems or advantages are fair, as from enemy to enemy.

TREACHE-

Treacherous as they constitutionally are, they yet are not accusable of that common attendant on treachery, cruelty. They are not accounted sanguinary. They do not usually rob and murther, unless where this last is absolutely necessary to the first, and then doubtless they do not stick at it. What prisoners they make in war they seldom detain, but get rid of them as soon as possible, to save the charges and trouble of keeping them; unless where any ransom is in view, and then they will not scruple using the harshest means towards extorting what they expect from them. Slaves they rarely make, unless they should have a view of a market for them; for they would make money of any thing: but though slaves are often bought in India, there is no settled vend for such as are taken in war. It is chiefly in times of famine that parents are sometimes driven to dispose of their children to the Europeans, or Moors, for I never could learn that the Gentoos dealt in them: neither can the Gentoos keep a slave under their roof of any religion but their own, on account of the profanation their law attributes to it. Besides, service is so extremely cheap among those people, that there are always numbers of domestics to be found, ready to serve for bare victuals and raiment.

Slavery being out of the question in the incursions of those people, whose sole object is present plunder, they are the less a terror to the neighboring countries, and especially to the poor land-tillers and peasants, who generally keep nothing in their huts worth carrying away, and thus are abundantly defended from losses by having nothing to lose.

Even in their plundering of towns, unless actuated by some extraordinary motive of resentment, they observe a certain moderation. Thus, for ex-

ample, when they pillaged Surat, besides their respecting the lives of the unresisting inhabitants, and the saving the houses from fire, they were far from rigorously ransacking it; it being a maxim with them (to use their own phrase) not to pluck up a beard by the roots, but to shave it, so that it may grow again, to serve another opportunity.

Upon the whole, they may be pronounced a sort of a civilized nation of banditti, who, it is not impossible, though at present it does not seem very probable, may in process of time be brought to adopt more social maxims of government, and rise into dignity and rank with the other lawful or regular powers.

The Mar-rajah, the sovereign of these people, generally keeps his court, or more properly speaking, considering their purely military constitution, his head quarters, at the fort of Raree, in the mountains of Deckan; and if reports do not bely it, this must be the most compleatly impregnable place in the universe. It is represented as a fortified mound of rocks, extremely high, and so steep, as but by one narrow pathway, to be accessible to human footing; with this advantage, that the enclosure of it is large enough, independent of the stores accumulated there, to grow grain sufficient for the maintenance of its garrison, which were it but a handful of men, could with pleasure defend it against the greatest armies that could be brought to take it; not to mention that the passes and defiles leading to it among the mountains, are so rugged and narrow, that the Morattoes must be all asleep, to suffer any armies to penetrate to that fortress.

Here the Mar-rajah principally resides, with a kind of military court, composed of his generals and officers, and keeps all the state of a sovereign prince,

prince, with all the insignia of royalty about him; one of which, peculiar to the Rajah's of Indostan, is their long vest, which only differs from that of other common ones, in the make towards the bottom, being sloped into a peek downwards on each side.

At this court, both the sovereign and the courtiers are so entirely engrossed with their attention to military operations, that having that super-addition to the natural indolence of the orientalists in general with respect to arts and sciences, they appear entirely incurious of the European manufactures, or rarities, whether of nature or art. In vain then would be shewn to them any of those exquisite pieces of workmanship, which are produced by our artists. They would indeed, out of civility, praise them with an air of careless indifference, and their natural covetousness would perhaps not suffer them to be sorry for being presented with them; but they would much rather receive the equivalent in sheer money, diamonds, or precious stones, of which the currency is to the full as regularly settled. This tastelessness too is so thoroughly rooted in them, that though no people are fonder of decking out their women with rich jewels, yet they would prefer those of their own workmen's comparative coarse and clumsy setting, to those of a Robertson or a Lacam, and that not from any laudable partiality towards their own country-men, but purely from the want of a relish for perfection, which makes them contented with what they have a habit of daily seeing. Thus a watch of the most beautiful and nicest make, is only valuable to them according to the metal it contains; and a painting of Raphael's or Titian's would move them no more than it would a horse.

In the profound ignorance in which they are bred, and in which their parts that are naturally extremely

extremely lively remain immerſed, or receive at the hands of tradition a wrong direction, it is not ſurprizing, that they ſhould be liable to take ſtrong impreſſions of ſuch groſs errors and prejudices, as thoſe in favor of judicial aſtrology, of which it is but ſo lately that the politeſt courts in Europe have ſhaken off the yoke. Theſe people in general are ſcrupulouſly addicted to believe in that vain ſcience, and religiouſly obſerve the good or bad days, indicated to them by their aſtrologers, who are chiefly Bramins, and whom they conſult on all occaſions; but this folly is no more than they have in common with the reſt of the Orientaliſts. Their credulity extends yet farther, to the opinion they have of wizards, and ſorcereſſes, of whom they tell many ſtories that they firmly believe. One of them, which I had from a Gentoo who came from that country, and very gravely aſſured me of the truth of it, I take leave to relate, not moſt certainly as either believing or expecting it to be believed, but purely as a ſpecimen of the genius of invention of thoſe people, with reſpect to any thing that favors their credulity.

The preſent Mar-rajah being informed of the great reputation of a certain woman in his dominions for ſorcery, and fortune-telling, ſent for her to court, with an intention to put her to death, on what particular provocation was not ſaid, but firſt had the curioſity to ſee her. The woman accordingly appeared before him: ſhe was then about forty, very corpulent, and not of an ill preſence. He aſked her ſternly, if ſhe knew why he had ſent for her? "Yes, anſwered ſhe (with the utmoſt intrepidity and unconcern) you have ſent for me to take away my life; but before you proceed to that, I hope you will, for your own ſake, permit me to give you a ſalutary warning." Curioſity, or perhaps the apprehenſion natural to that

prejudice

prejudice which admits of the poſſibility of witch-craft, moving the Rajah's aſſent to it, ſhe ordered two fowls to be produced, the one a cóck, the other a hen. The cock was ſet down on the ground, full of life and ſpirits; then taking the hen, ſhe deſired the Rajah to mark the conſequence. At theſe words ſhe wrung the neck of the hen off, when at the ſame time the cock, though untouched by any one, imitating all the convulſions and agonies of its death, accompanied the hen in it. "This, Sir, (ſaid ſhe to the Rajah determinately) "remember to be a type of your fate and mine." The Rajah ſtruck with this, not only deſiſted from his intention, but intreated her to be near his perſon, ſettled a conſiderable penſion on her, ordered her a palankin and attendance, and in ſhort treated her thence-forwards like a perſon, with whoſe life his own was wound up.

As to the perſons of the Morattoes, they are generally a clean-limbed, ſtrait people, it being very rare to ſee any deformed perſons among them. Some of them are muſcular large-bodied men; but their vegetable diet, and their not being trained up to a proper exerciſe of their bodily ſtrength, makes them not ſo robuſt; which laſt I the rather believe, becauſe it is certain, that even in this hot climate, there are often to be found, as at Surat, porters who will carry a weight equal to what any European can; however, it is certain, that the Morattoes are in battle eaſily over-borne, not only by the Europeans, but by the Mogul's troops, with neither of whom they have any chance, without a great ſuperiority of numbers, or from the ſlight and dexterity with which they handle their ſwords.

Their complexions are of all ſhades, from the deep-black to the light-brown; but it is obſerved, they are fairer in proportion of their diſtance from the ſea-ſide, and of their birth among the mountains

tains the fartheſt remote from it. Their features are generally regular, and even delicate. Beſides ſhaving their heads, of which they religiouſly preſerve in the middle of it a lock at full length, ſo as to tie up, and hang down behind, the Morattoes are diſtinguiſhed from the Moors, by two favorite curls they wear on each ſide juſt above the ear, which appearing from under their turbants, gives them a kind of effeminate look.

Their women are generally very handſome, whilſt the bloom of youth continues; but that ſoon fading, there are few who preſerve the charms of their ſhape and ſkin till thirty, at which they are commonly paſt child-bearing. They are reckoned very faithful and affectionate to their huſbands, who do not appear to be infected with the oriental taint of jealouſy. In this country, however, the barbarous cuſtom ſtill continues, as indeed none are ſo tenacious of old cuſtoms as the Gentoos, of women burning, or being buried (for there is one tribe that buries their dead) with their huſbands: what is more, the higher the rank of the huſband is, the greater is the incumbence on the wife, to follow him in this manner; and the Rajahs eſpecially have ſeveral of their wives burned with them: the ceremony of which, being ſo amply deſcribed in many authors, acquits me of entering into any further account of it here; beſides that, I never was myſelf an eye-witneſs to it. Yet I believe, that the ſtory of this cuſtom, attributed to the Bramins deviſing it, to put a ſtop to the frequency of the womens poiſoning their huſbands on every ſlight quarrel, to be an over-refinement of conjecture, as falſe as it is injurious to the women of this country; no ſuch practice being either atteſted by creditable tradition, or warranted by the behavior of the other Indian women not ſubjected to this cuſtom, and who are generally of a mould of mind much

much too soft and tender to incur even the suspicion of such a detestable barbarity. I rather attribute it to the strength of passion, always the greatest in the weakest minds, from the greater power of all impressions on them, and of which the Bramins knew how to take the advantage, not only for the sake of paying their court to the leading men of the country, whose vanity, and that sort of jealousy founded upon it, were thus flattered at the expence of a sex, in those parts perfectly enslaved to them, and never enough considered by them; but also for the sake of the dreadful power of religious persuasion it armed them with, to establish a ceremony that is never but attended with signal emolument to themselves, and that inspires an awe or veneration for them the conductors of it.

THE Morattoes, as Gentoos, agree in this, as they do in most other points in religion and manners, with the rest of the Gentoo nations, of which in its place will be given a more particular account. In the mean time, from what has been said, the situation specifically of Bombay with respect to these people, and to what is to be hoped or feared from them, may not be insufficiently collected.

CHAP. II.

Of ANGRIA, *and his* SUCCESSORS.

CONAGEE ANGRIA, the father of the present Angrias, having made so remarkable a figure in the history of those parts, and especially relatively to the English interest in them, for having been the first founder of a very considerable piratical state; and so many fabulous stories having been imposed on the public concerning his birth,

first

first rise, and progress, I shall in my second volume give the best and most authentic account I could obtain concerning him, and his dominions *. However, I shall here observe, that Angria, who had found means to dispossess other petty chiefs of their forts, and lands, through the acquiescence of the Morattoes, and his own enterprizing genius; having collaterally acquired vessels of greater force, ventured at length to break with our flag, and took some English vessels trading upon that coast, plundered the cargoes, and made the men prisoners, subject to a ransom.

This naturally alarmed the government of Bombay, which accordingly expostulated with him on his piratical procedure; to which he made no further answer, than that disclaiming the title of pirate, he assumed that of admiral to the Mar-rajah, to whom he insisted that the sovereignty of those seas belonged, and that he was determined to maintain it, against all such as should refuse to acknowledge, or not take his passes. And as one may well imagine these were terms to which the English government could not stoop, he went on with his usual depredations.

This obliged the East-India company to keep a constant marine on foot to hold him in check, and to protect the trade and navigation of those seas, an incumbence which greatly inflamed the charges of that presidency. Angria however made a shift to support himself by cruizing indistinctly on all nations, and by picking up such stragglers as ventured on the coast without convoy. Yet he took care never to venture below mount Dilly, or far to the northward, for fear of being intercepted and cut off his port by the English force that was employed

* See vol. II. p. 211—228.

to

to watch his motions: about 1731 he died, not in a very advanced age, being about sixty.

He was a well-set corpulent man, rather blacker than commonly the Deckaners are; full faced, with a sparkling eye, and stern countenance. He was very severe in his commands, and exact in punishing; otherwise liberal to his officers and soldiers, with whom he affected a sort of military frankness, not to say familiarity. He was too, like the Morattoes, very careless of keeping faith, and excused the not making any peace with him, on which it was foreknown that no reliance could be had.

After his death, the succession devolved on his son, Sambagee Angria, who retained force enough to do the English a great deal of mischief, and accordingly took their trading ships, both of the country, and from Europe, and even occasionally the armed vessels, when he could surprize and overpower them. He died in 1745, and was succeeded by his son Tulagree, who was dispossessed by the English in 1756, as will be particularly related in my second volume.

It has been however proposed as a doubt, whether the English have acted for their interest, in their joining to ruin an enemy, it is true, but an enemy, in whose place another power far superior in strength is substituted, and whom there is no more safety in trusting than Angria himself.

This argument would be very just, if the Morattoes were not already, by their neighborhood to Bombay, in condition to do us so much mischief by land, that the consideration of what they can ever do against us by sea is absorbed in it. It may not then be unreasonable to think, that it is better to have this nation only to deal with, on the best terms of friendship that can be procured, than to continue in a constant state of hostility with a petty pirate, from whom no peace could ever be hoped,

and

and who was unſuppreſſible, without a greater land force than we could conveniently bring againſt him; ſince even granted, that the Morattoes could raiſe a marine ſuperior to that of Angria, a breach with them by ſea could not be more fatal than the one at land, which would of courſe be implied in it. For certainly Bombay, according to all human appearance, ceaſes to be tenable, that inſtant the Morattoes determinately reſolve the conqueſt of it; which will not appear a hazarded conjecture to thoſe, who know the extent of the Morattoes power, eſpecially now their arms are at liberty, and free from any awe of the Mogul's. But, beſides, even allowing that the fortifications of Bombay were able to hold out againſt ſuch forces as they could eaſily bring againſt them, if they convert but their deſign into a ſcheme of blocking up the paſſes, of harraſſing the iſland with incurſions, and ſtraitening it for proviſions, they can only with a little more time, but with leſs danger and no inconvenience to themſelves who are at home, render the tenure of it impracticable, or at leaſt uſeleſs to us. If they can poſſibly however be brought to know their own intereſt; or knowing it, to adhere to it, this can never be the caſe.

BOOK IV.

Of the MOGUL *government.*

CHAP. I.

Of SURAT : *its situation: disturbances there. History of* MAHMUD ALLY. *Character of the* BANYANS. *Style of the* MOGUL *governors. Ship-building : navigation : buildings and streets of* Surat : *provisions : odd names given to spirituous liquors. Account of the practice of champing : bathing : jugglers : toleration of religions : manufactures : commodious method of sale. Singular method of securing the caravans. Intercourse between* Surat *and* BOMBAY *by land. Opium : story of its paradoxical operation :* PATNA *sends the best to market : story of an* ENGLISH *gentleman dying of having sucked a poppy. Of the use of bang.— Of the* PARSEES.—*Of the* MOGUL *government, and its declension. Religion of* TARTARY *is deism. Of seraglios, and the* MOORS *taste of beauty. Buildings and gardens of the* Moguls. *Dancing-girls. Dress of the* Moors : *manners : slaves : diet : equipage and carriages. Luxury of the Orientalists.*

SURAT has hitherto been so closely connected with our government at Bombay, that some account of it falls naturally within my plan, especially as it serves for introduction to an attempt of some definition of the Mogul government, in which the English are so much con-

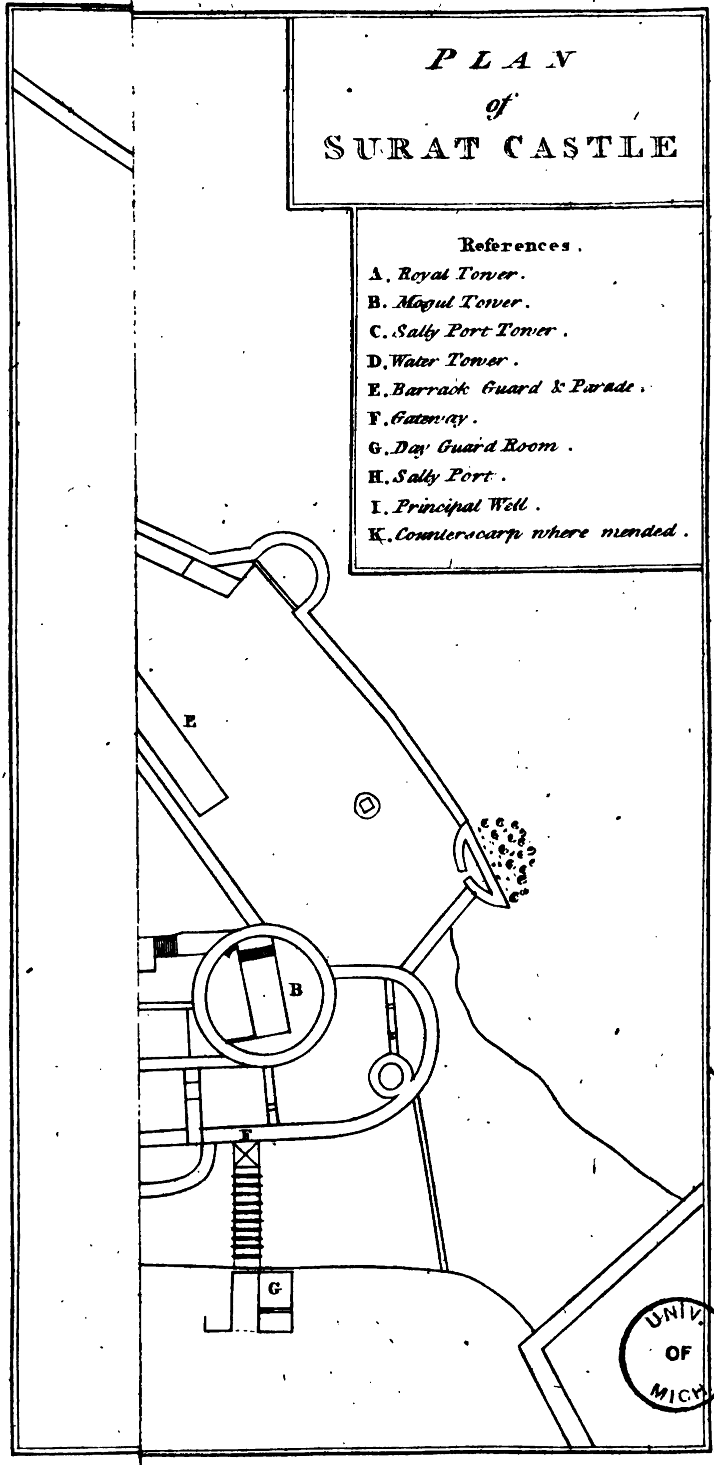
 cerned,

cerned, and which for many years paſt has been a kind of political paradox.

SURAT is ſituate on the continent a little to the northward of Bombay, about ſixteen miles up the river Tappee, on the right-hand ſide as you go up. The river itſelf is nothing remarkable; but the city on the banks of it is perhaps one of the greateſt inſtances in the known world, of the power of trade to bring in ſo little a time wealth, arts and population, to any ſpot where it can be brought to ſettle.

IT is not later than the middle of the laſt century, that this place was the repair of a few merchants, who under the ſhelter of an old inſignificant caſtle, formed up a town, which in the proceſs of a few years, became one of the moſt conſiderable in the world, not only for trade but ſize, being almoſt as large, and as populous as London within the walls, and contains many good houſes, according to the Indian architecture. A wall was ſoon, after its taking the form of a town, built round it, to defend it from the inſults of the Morattoes, who had twice pillaged it; but a wall that could only be meant of uſe againſt the ſudden incurſion of ſuch free-booters, and by no means capable of ſtanding any thing like a regular ſiege. The caſtle too, which is by the river-ſide, and which you paſs in your way up to the city, appears a ſtrange huddle of building, fortified with cannon mounted here and there without order and meaning, and without an attempt at any thing like military architecture.

IN this city, before the Eaſt India company became by the royal grant inveſted with the poſſeſſion of Bombay, was the preſidency of their affairs on that coaſt: for which purpoſe they had a factory eſtabliſhed there with ſeveral great privileges allowed them by the Mogul government; and even after


PLAN
of
SURAT CASTLE
References.
A. Royal Tower.
B. Mogul Tower.
C. Sally Port Tower.
D. Water Tower.
E. Barrack Guard & Parade.
F. Gateway.
G. Day Guard Room.
H. Sally Port.
I. Principal Well.
K. Counterscarp where mended.
E
B
G

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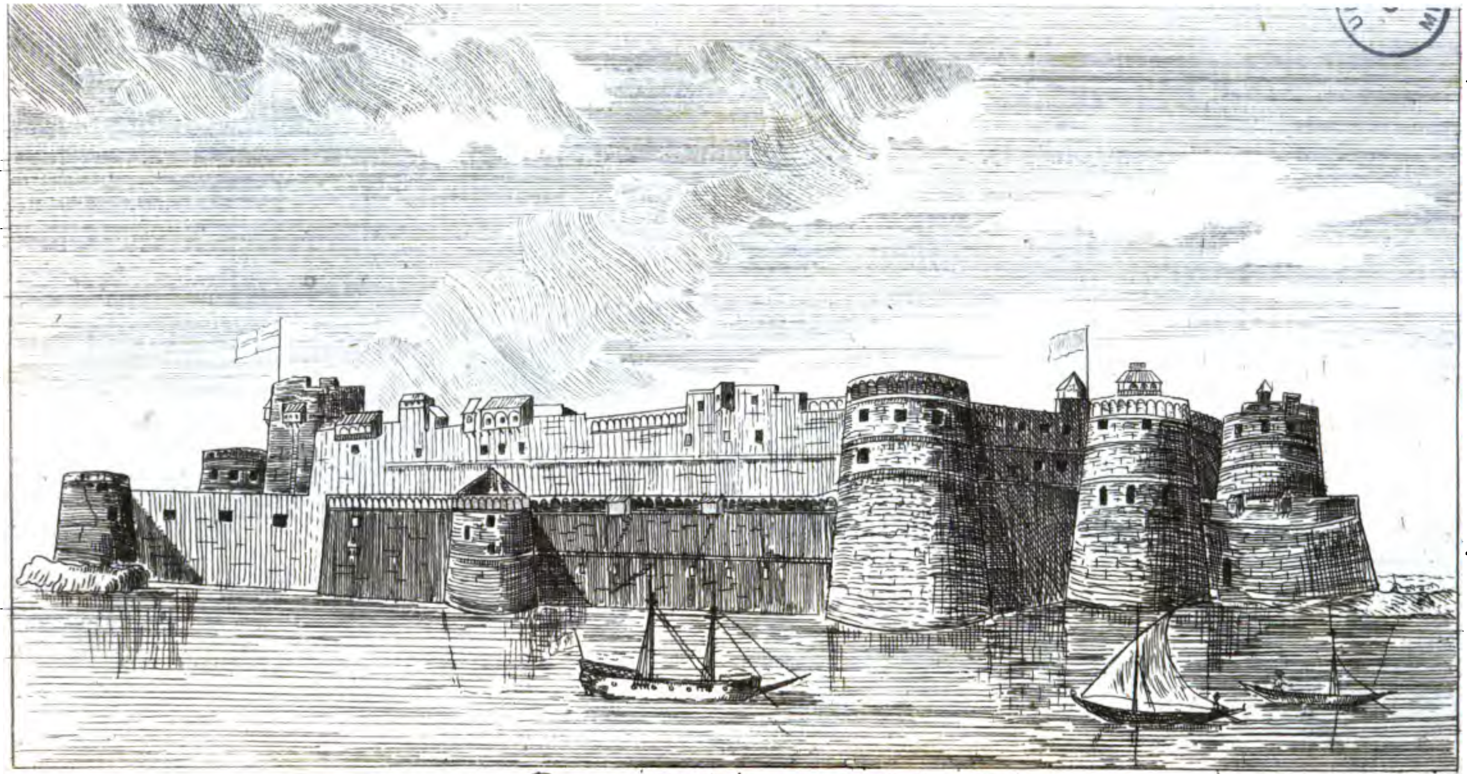
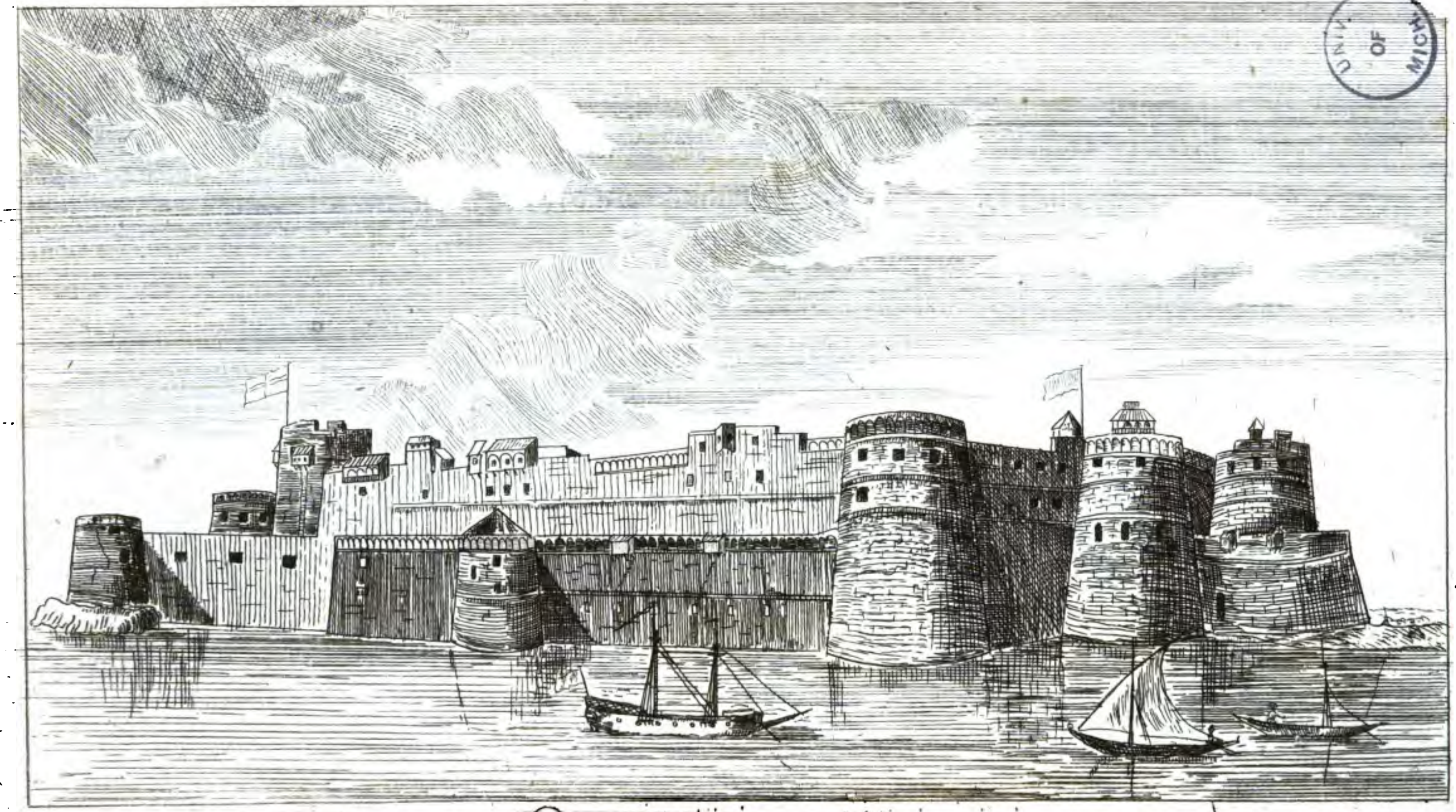


The West View of Surat Castle



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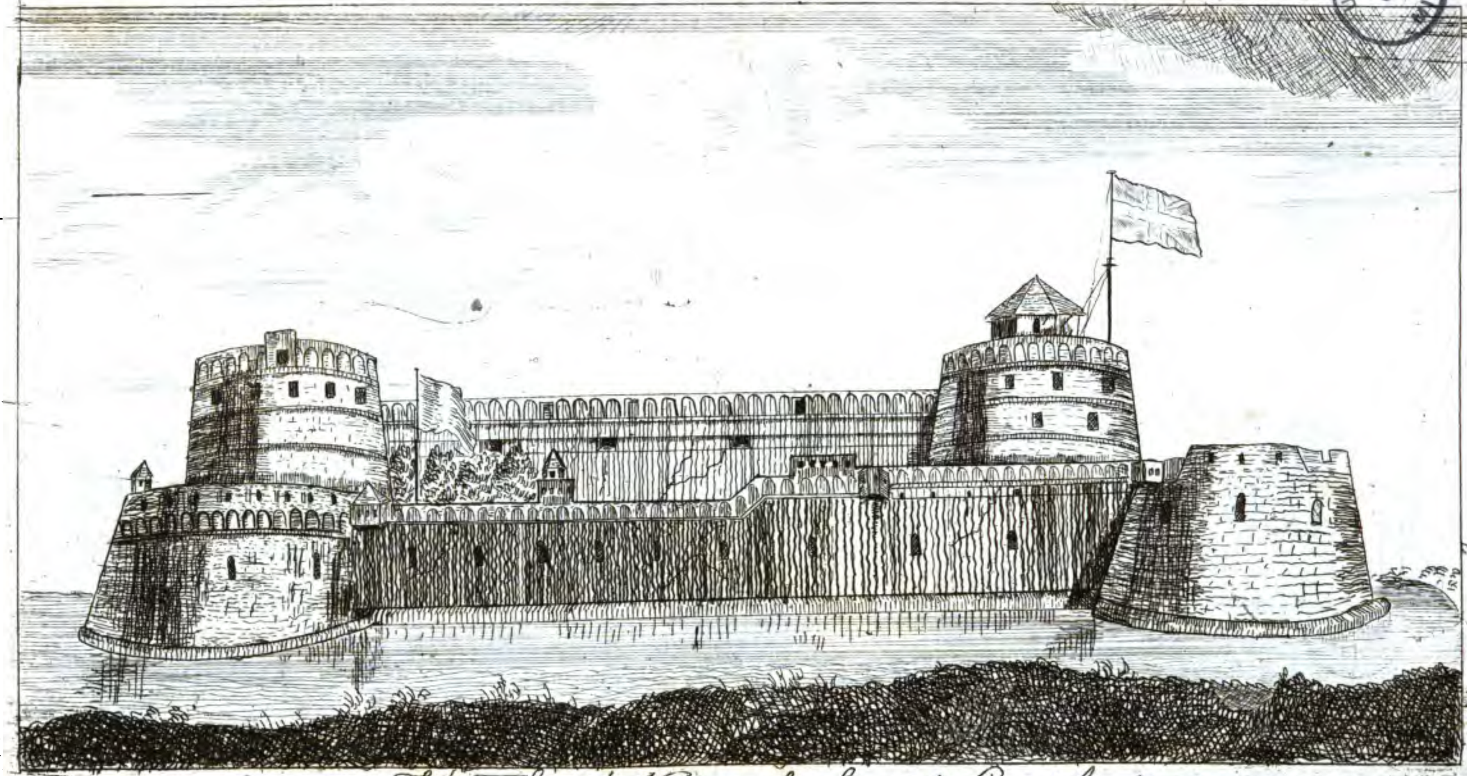
The West View of Surat Castle



The South View of Surat Castle.

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after the feat of the prefidency was transferred to Bombay, they continued a factory here, at one of the beft houfes in the city; which yet not being fpacious enough to contain their effects, they hired another houfe at fome diftance from it, and nearer the water-fide, which was called the new factory.

In the mean time this city florifhed, and grew the center, and indeed the only ftaple of India; it being much more frequented for the fake of the vent goods of all forts met with there, from whence they were diftributed particularly to the inland provinces, than for either the natural productions, and manufactures of the country, though they alfo made a confiderable part of its commerce. In fhort, there was hardly any article of merchandize that can be named, but what was to be found at all times here, almoft as readily as in London itfelf. The company carries on annually a large inveftment of piece goods, efpecially of the coarfe ones Byrampauts, Chelloes, and others for the Guinea market; but the Englifh intereft and influence feem of late years to have greatly declined, amidft the confufion and embroils of the country, a circumftance every where fatal to trade, and to that fecurity and credit which are the life of it.

While the Mogul government was in vigor, there was fuch a fhew of juftice, as induced the merchants of all religions and denominations to take fhelter under it. The Gentoos efpecially reforted to it, and took up their abode there, not only on the account of trade, but for preferring a Moorifh form of government to the living under Gentoos, who had none at all. And it muft be owned, great care was taken that no very flagrant acts of oppreffion fhould be committed; fo that in what fometimes happened, at leaft appearances were kept, and were moftly owing to the mer-

chants themſelves, who on perſonal pique, or jealouſy of trade, would find means to ſet the government upon one another's backs, which was not averſe to interfere in their quarrels, being ſure to be the only gainer by them.

As an inſtance of this, it may not be improper to relate the fate of Mahmud Ally, the grandſon of that great and truly royal merchant Abdulgafour, of whom captain Hamilton obſerves, " that he
" drove a trade equal to the Eaſt India company
" (that is greatly exaggerated) for he had known
" him fit out in a year above twenty ſail of ſhips,
" between 300 and 800 tons, and none of them
" had leſs of his own ſtock than 20,000 pounds,
" and ſome of them had 25,000, and after that
" foreign ſtock was ſent away, it behoved him to
" have as much more of an inland-ſtock for the
" following year's market. When he died, he
" left his eſtate to two grandſons, his own ſon,
" who was his only child, dying before him. But
" the court had a fling at him, and got above a
" million ſterling of their eſtate."

One of the brothers dying, the remains of that fortune centered in Mahmud Ally, who, even after that great ſtroke of court-extortion, had ſtill enough left to carry on a trade, not indeed equal to his grand-father, but however far ſuperior to any other private perſon in Surat. He had alſo a fort of his own, called Otway, by the river-ſide, where he kept all his ware-houſes, magazines, and ſtores for building ſhips, compactly and within himſelf.

But it happened unfortunately for him, that Lolldaſs Vituldaſs, a Banyan, and actually at that time head-broker to the Eaſt India company, with whoſe trade that of Mahmud Ally interfered, and perhaps inflamed by other perſonal piques and emulation, projected his ruin, and effected it.

Lolldass

LOLLDASS knew very well, that the Moorish governor of Surat would readily seize any occasion of destroying Mahmud Ally, not only for the sake of gratifying his avarice by the plunder of his estate, but for that of removing out of his way a man greatly obnoxious for his power to protect the merchants, being a preponderant weight in their scale, when joining them to withstand the oppressions of the government: a circumstance which had given equally umbrage to the preceding governor Sorab Cawn, who, before he was removed, had also marked him out for his prey.

THE Mogul's court was then immersed in that supine indolence, which had invited the Persian invasion by Shaw Nadir, more commonly known in Europe by the name of Thamas Kouli-Cawn; so that the Nabobs, and governors of cities, lived in a sort of contumacy or independence on his commands. But what was worse yet, especially for Surat, that rule of good policy had been omitted with respect to its government, which had always before established, that the governor of the town should be separate from, and utterly unconnected with the governor of the castle, who was even ordered not to stir out of the castle while his government lasted, unless perhaps once a year to repair in ceremony, and with all proper precautions to pay his devotions at the head-mosch. To this check was also added another, which was an universal practice over the whole empire. The Mogul used to keep a residentiary, or at least send occasionally an authorized minister, under the title of Vocaneveess, whose business was to inspect and report to him the conduct of his governors, and prefects of provinces, to whom this person was not only unsubordinate, but an awe and terror.

ALL these wise dispositions were however, at this time of universal negligence, laid aside: and the

governor of the caftle was not only nearly related to Teg-beg Cawn, the governor of the town, but abfolutely at his difpofal; fo that every thing was done in a concert between them, which opened the door to the oppreffion that followed.

Lolldass taking advantage of thefe circumftances, and himfelf being rendered defperate by the declenfion of his own, eafily found means to fuggeft to a governor, already greedy of embracing fuch an overture, the defign of deftroying a man obnoxious to them both.

Accordingly he took fuch an advantage of a ftorm originally raifed againft the whole body of merchants themfelves, that the iffue of it was Mahmud Ally's perifhing in it: for having ftood on his defence againft the new governor Teg-beg Cawn, and being deferted by that party of the Gentoo merchants efpecially, over whom, to their afterwards great and vain regret, the influence that Lolldafs had ftill retained, though himfelf was on the point of bankruptcy, had prevailed, he fell defencelefs, in confequence of a confederacy of them, at which himfelf had been the head, for their mutual protection and fecurity, by fuch a turn as could hardly be imagined things could take, and which for the rarity of it, befides the importance of its confequences, it may not be difagreeble to the reader, to fee a fummary account.

Mahmud Ally, on having certain intimation, that Sorab Cawn, the Mogul governor of the town, and with whom himfelf had formerly clofe connections and dealings, was projecting a general extortion from himfelf, and all the merchants of Surat, took care to fpread the alarm, and invited the merchants to join him, and make a common caufe againft the governor; engaging himfelf to bear principally the charges of the conteft. This league was accordingly formed, and was fo fuccefsful, that

that Sorab Cawn was not only expelled his government, but Teg-beg Cawn, by the intereſt of the governor of the caſtle, ſubſtituted in his room, againſt all the rules of good policy, againſt the conſtitution of the ſtate, and eſpecially againſt the inclination of Mahmud Ally. For Teg-beg Cawn had been in that poſt before; but had been revoked for his oppreſſions, and had never thereafter afforded the leaſt room to hope, that he had changed his tyrannical or avaritious temper, and was beſides particularly deteſted by Mahmud Ally; who now found too late, that he had been hurried farther than what he had originally intended, which was the depreſſion, rather than the deſtruction of Sorab Cawn, who was beſides conſiderably his debtor, and began to repent of the exceſſes into which this affair had led him, eſpecially too, as thoſe very merchants, whoſe intereſt was a common one with him, had not only conſtrued his promiſes of bearing the charges of the oppoſition in an unlimited ſenſe, but had paid him ſo little regard, as without conſulting him, or indeed the dictates of common ſenſe, to ſet up a man for governor, againſt whom he had ſuch juſt objections, of a public beſides a private nature.

In this mood of repentance, for a conduct which only ſelf-defence could juſtify, or ſucceſs ſave from the charge and conſequences of open rebellion, againſt a governor appointed by royal authority, he began to relent, and incline, if not towards a reſtoration of Sorab Cawn, at leaſt to wiſh to preſerve him from falling into the hands of his enemies, who would probably have given him no quarter. The intereſt he had in his not being plundered, utterly ruined, and ultimately murdered, who was not only the lawful governor, but alſo his debtor, joined to conſiderations of former friendſhip, engaged him to give this very

governor Sorab Cawn, of whoſe expulſion he had been the original promoter, refuge in his caſtle of Otway, with four others of his retinue, and by this means procured their eſcape.

This however was deemed by the enemies of Sorab Cawn, and eſpecially by Lolldaſs, who had a great hand in ſetting Teg-beg Cawn up, as a perfidious deſertion of the league formed by himſelf: and this advantage he improved, ſo as to inflame both the new governor and all his partizans to ſuch a pitch, that they laid ſiege to the caſtle of Otway, forced it to ſurrender, and, in razing it to the ground, implicitly deſtroyed the capital fortreſs of the liberty of Surat.

Soon after which, on a kind of forced viſit to Teg-beg Cawn, Mahmud Ally was ſeized, made a priſoner, and barbarouſly murdered one night in the apartment where he was confined, by the governor's ruffians. Then the remains of his eſtate were plundered, and his two ſons left entirely at the diſcretion, mercy, and charity of this aſſaſſin of their fathers.

Nor did Lolldaſs long ſurvive the ſucceſs of his ſchemes; for when he ſaw the tragical iſſue of it, which went probably beyond his intentions, in the ſame manner as Mahmud Ally had himſelf been hurried along by the force of conjectures, further than he had meant in his oppoſition to Sorab Cawn; when he ſaw the fatal cataſtrophe of this great and beloved merchant, and all eyes turned upon him, as imputing it to him, that, joined to the diſorders of his own affairs, it was thought broke his heart; he dying ſoon after ſuddenly, without any other cauſe viſibly aſſignable for it, and left his ſons in bankrupt circumſtances.

Without taking on me to juſtify or condemn Mahmud Ally, having only related the facts on the beſt authorities I could procure, I ſhall only

add

add that his death, which happened in the year 1732, was the epoch of the declenſion of the Surat trade, and the beginning of all the diſorders, embroils, and confuſion that followed, in which the Engliſh were not exempt from their ſhare of ſuffering, and into a ſpecification of which, it could be but little intereſting, and very tedious to enter here *.

I HAVE before obſerved, that the Gentoos were extremely numerous here; eſpecially that tribe or caſt of the Banyans, who are conſtitutionally or profeſſedly merchants. I have often read, often heard them repreſented as a tricking, artful ſet of people, full of low cunning, that made it difficult to deal with them: but this can, I think, only be underſtood, if it be at all true, of the petty, under-dealers among them: for thoſe of them who are properly merchants, in the extenſive ſenſe of that word, are in general the faireſt, openeſt dealers in the world; and thoſe of Surat were eſpecially famous for the ſimplicity and frankneſs of their tranſactions. For example, on a ſhip's importing there, nothing more was to be done, than for the commander, or ſupracargoe, to bring his muſters or ſamples on ſhore, together with his invoice; and the conſiderable merchants reſorting to him, would immediately ſtrike a bargain for the whole cargoe, if the aſſortment ſuited them, with no other trouble than ſettling the per centage upon the items of the invoice. In this manner many a cargoe, from five to ten, twenty, thirty thouſand pounds and upwards, has been ſold in half an hour's time with very few words, and the amount paid down upon the nail, either in ready money,

* See vol. II. p. 320, for the reduction of Surat, by the Engliſh in 1759.

or

or by barter, according as the vender and purchaser agreed, with as much good faith, at least, as is ever observed among the European merchants of the most established character of probity. Then their readiness at running all the hazards of trade was even proverbial, insomuch, that it has not been unjustly observed of them, that if their personal equalled their commercial courage, they would incontestably be the bravest people on the earth. But that is far from the case: one would rather think, by them, that the one excluded the other.

Those Banyans have indeed one constitutional advantage over the European merchants; but then it is such, that these last cannot fairly complain of it, which is their invincible phlegm and coolness in the course of their transactions. Whether you offer them shamefully less than their goods are worth, or fly into passions at their under-rating yours, there is no such thing as provoking them into the least show of passion or indecency. They calmly suffer you to evaporate your resentment without interrupting you, and waiting patiently till your fit of drunkenness is off, for they look on it in no other light, they return cooly to the same point, as if nothing had stirred them from it; and if they depart from it, you may depend that it is not in the least out of any consideration for what you shall have said to them in your fury, but purely for their own ends, and in consequence of their own inward representations to themselves. In that they have, in this point, the same advantage over the Europeans, that a cool gamester has over a passionate one.

But besides the number of Gentoo inhabitants of Surat, its suburbs, and neighboring villages, employed purely in trade, money-changing, brokership, and manufactures, they are often employed in posts under the Moorish government, as collectors,

lectors, surveyors of the customs, and other offices of trust; especially where accomptantship is required, in which they generally excel the Moors, who are bred more in the military way: and it has been observed, that none are more rigorous exacters over the Gentoos, nor readier to abet, or even set on foot any vexation, or extortion from them, than these Gentoos themselves. One would imagine oppression was their element, and that they could not breathe out of it.

THE governor of Surat keeps his seat of administration at what is called the Durbar, where he is generally present himself, and gives his orders. It is here that all actions criminal and civil are brought before him, and summarily dispatched in the Eastern manner. One piece of state too he observes, that I have no where before seen mentioned, and that is, that he never on any thing material speaks to his attendants, but writes, in the Persian language, his orders upon little slips of paper, that lie by him ready for that purpose, and when written, are called Hookums, and must be obeyed without reply. These are afterwards brought him, like a return of a judicial process, and being strung, serve as a kind of record of his acts of the day.

THE Morattoes are however now grown so predominant, and their influence is so far spread into that city itself, that unless the Mogul government should resume its ascendancy, of which there is very little likelihood, the government of it already so precarious, must soon become entirely dependent on them, when it is a question whether even their own clear interest in the preservation of the trade of it, will prevail over that constitutional indifference of theirs to it, and that passion for present pillage, which have been already set forth.

AT Surat too they excel in the art of ship-building. If their models were as fine as those of the English,

English, of whom especially they prefer the imitation, there would be no exaggeration in averring, that they build incomparably the best ships in the world for duration, and that of any size, even to a thousand tons and upwards. But their naval, like their other architecture, has always something clumsy, unfinished, and un-artist-like in it; otherwise the reign of their ships is much longer than that of the European-built ones: it is not uncommon for one of them to last a century, and that not so much owing to the commonly summer seas in those parts, as to the solidity of their workmanship, and the nature of the wood they employ.

As to the first, their bottom and sides are composed of planks let in to one another, in the nature as I apprehend of what is called rabbit-work; so that the seams are impenetrable: and the knees, or crooked timbers, are generally of the natural growth into that form, without being forced or warped by fire, especially where particular care is taken of their construction, and their expence not spared.

And as to the wood, it is a sort, called teak, to the full as durable as oak, and has, besides this property, that it is not so apt in an engagement with cannon-shot to fly in splinters, which usually do more mischief to the men than the balls themselves. They have also a peculiar way of preserving their ships-bottoms, by occasionally rubbing into them an oil, they call wood-oil, which the planks imbibe, and serves greatly to nourish and keep them from decay.

They do not launch their ships as we do from slips; but by digging canals from the water to where the stocks, or what they call craddles are, from which they are, as it were, dropped into the stream that is brought up to them.

I AM alſo ſenſible, that Surat is not the only place by many in India, where ſhips are built, but none as yet are comparable to them. Pegu is alſo a noted place for ſhip-building; but I never learnt that they were as yet there come into that way of rabbit-work bottoms, which renders the Surat ſhips ſo ſtrong: though I have otherwiſe ſeen very fine veſſels of the built of that country.

THE maſting generally uſed in the country-ſhips, are Pohoon-maſts, chiefly from the Malabar coaſt; but for the cordage, what is worth any thing muſt come from Europe: their coyr-ropes, made of the fibres of coconut-huſks, being for either running or ſtanding-rigging, more harſh and untractable than what is produced from hemp. I have, however, ſeen very ſerviceable and large coyr-cables, which, in oppoſition to the Europe ones, laſt much longer in ſalt-water, freſh being apt to rot them.

THEIR anchors are moſtly European, our iron being much better, and better worked. As to ſails, they are very well ſupplied by the country-manufacture of cotton into a ſail-cloth called dungaree, which, though not ſo ſtrong or laſting as canvaſs, Holland's duck, or vitry, is, while in uſe, more pliant, and leſs apt to ſplit than they are. And for pitch they have the gum of a tree, which is called damar, not at all inferior to the other.

THEIR navigators are very indifferent artiſts; formerly they uſed to get Europeans to command their ſhips; but lately they make a ſhift to do without them, having trained up to it ſome of the natives, who may juſt ſerve in thoſe parts, where they ſeldom put to ſea but in the fair ſeaſon, and where conſequently they rarely meet with ſtorms to try their ſkill. Their common ſailors are rather better in their claſs, though wanting the vigor, expertneſs, and patience of fatigue, in the Europeans. Yet, where ſome of our ſhips have been

too far weakened in their crews, by ſickneſs or other caſualties, they have been obliged to borrow the aſſiſtance of theſe black ſailors, or laſcars, to bring them home. The public has here ſeen ſome of them miſerable objects about the ſtreets of London, begging charity, and expoſed to all the diſtreſſes incident to perſons ſo far remote from their native country, friendleſs, and abandoned, for want of knowing the laws and cuſtoms here, which joined to the thoughtleſſneſs one would think natural to thoſe of their rank on that element, rendered them a prey to all the little low deſigning people, among whom their ſtation of life and misfortune had caſt them away.

As to the buildings of Surat, there are ſome very good houſes in their ſtyle of building, which is partly Gentoo, and partly Moriſque. Thoſe of the greateſt note are ſo contrived, that the gateway is defenſible againſt any ſudden irruption of a few armed men : a circumſtance of no ſmall import, in a city, where often the withſtanding the firſt brunt of any perſons ſent by the government to oppreſs, or deſtroy the owner, is attended with future ſecurity, by the alarm raiſing a party to relieve, or oppoſe his proceedings. The private apartments lye backwards, for the greater ſecurity of the women, of whom the Moors eſpecially are remarkably jealous. They are very fond of having one room, at leaſt in particular, where a fountain is kept playing in the midſt of it, by the noiſe of which they are lulled to ſleep, and refreſhed by the coolneſs it diffuſes through the apartment ; but which is attended with a damp, of which I would not adviſe an European to make the experiment. Beſides, the common convenience of eaſtern ſophas, which are ſo commodious for their manner of ſitting croſs-legged, they all like European looking-glaſſes, which are what they chiefly hang

their

their rooms with. Another ornament too they have, which has not an ill effect upon the eye, and that is the beams of the chamber-cieling, curiously inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl, like the hand-ſcrutores that come from thence, in floriſhes and ſcroll-work, agreeable to the Moriſque taſte. They have generally a kind of ſaloon, which they call a Diwan, entirely open on one ſide to the garden, where they have fountains playing, which joined to the variegated flower-beds in front of it, of which they are very curious, add to the pleaſantneſs and airineſs of the proſpect. In ſummer, when the heats are moſt intenſe, though never ſo intolerable as in many other places, nor unwholſome that ever I could learn, they have country-receſſes a little way out of town, where they reſide, or go in parties to enjoy themſelves in their gardens and freſcades, by the ſide of the waters with which they are furniſhed. The Engliſh company has eſpecially a very pleaſant garden, kept for the uſe and recreation of the gentlemen of the factory; though lately the incurſions of the Morattoes to the very gates of the city, and the conſtant alarms of the country round, have made thoſe rural receſſes too unſafe to conſiſt with a ſatisfactory enjoyment of them.

The ſtreets of Surat are irregularly laid out; but have one propriety which renders them agreeable to the walkers, in the heat of the day, and that is, a competent width of them being left at bottom, the ſtories of the houſes are carried up ſo projecting over one another, that the uppermoſt apartments on each ſide of the ſtreet are ſo cloſe to one another, that one may with eaſe converſe from them; a way of building, that whilſt it overſhades the ſtreet, does not exclude a free ventilation, which is rather attracted by it. The ſhops however, though in this great trading city, where every

ry thing almoſt that can be aſked for is to be found, have a very mean appearance, the dealers keeping their goods chiefly in warehouſes, and ſelling by ſamples.

As to the living in Surat, I mean for proviſions, I cannot imagine that there is in the world a better place, while the communication eſpecially with the country is open. For to ſay nothing of the abundance of every article which an unbounded importation throws into the market there, the natural productions of the ſoil are excellent in their kind, and thereby atone for their perhaps being leſs cheap, as to the quantity, than at ſome other places of India, as at Bengal eſpecially, where the cattle and poultry are bought at a very low rate, and yet turn out dear by the time they are properly fed for the table. Here then all manner of eatables are at a reaſonable price, ready for immediate uſe, and as good as can any where be found. The wheat of Surat is famous all over India, for its ſingular whiteneſs, ſubſtance, and taſte; and nothing can exceed their ſallads and roots. There are alſo many kinds of wild fowl and game to be had at an eaſy rate.

As to wines and ſpirituous liquors, the Europeans depend chiefly on importation for them, few reliſhing the diſtillery of the country, which however produces various ſtrong ſpirits, to which they give names that would ſeem odd; ſuch as ſpirit of mutton, ſpirit of deer, ſpirit of goat; but for the reaſon they annex to it, which is their throwing into the ſtill, according to the liquor they propoſe, a joint of mutton, a haunch of veniſon, a quarter of a goat, which give reſpectively their names to the diſtillation. This they imagine, how juſtly I do not pretend to know, ſuper-adds to the liquor a certain mellowneſs and ſoftneſs, that corrects the fierineſs of the ſpirit.

AMONG

Among the articles of luxury, which they have in common with other parts of the East, and especially the Mahometans, they have public hummums for bathing, cupping, rubbing and sweating; of which there needs no particular description, being so generally well known. But the practice of champing, which by the best intelligence I could gather is derived from the Chinese, may not be unworthy particularizing, as it is so little known to the modern Europeans; though on my mentioning it here in England, I have been assured, the antients practised something very like it, by the description which a friend pointed out to me: but I leave the reader to judge of the fitness of the quotation.

Percurrit agili corpus arte tractatrix
Manumque doctam spargit omnibus membris.
Mart. Lib. III. Epig. 82.

Seneca too, at the end of his sixty-sixth letter, inveighs against it as a point of luxury crept in among the Romans; which however proves that it was not unknown to them. His words are, *An potius optem ut malacissandos articulos exoletis meis porrigam? ut muliercula, aut aliquis in mulierculam ex viro versus digitulos meos ducat?* "Should I rather wish to hold out my joints to be softened and suppled by some superannuated chamber-minion; or suffer a woman, or a man effeminated into one, to stretch my fingers?" But whether he is right or wrong in his stoical conception of it, the Orientalists annex no idea of indecency or immodesty to it, and the manner of it is this: after the ceremony of sweating, bathing, rubbing, &c. is gone through, and which is not always previously used, since many are frequently champed at home, the person that chooses it, lies at his

length on a couch, bed, or ſopha, where the operator handles his limbs as if he was kneading dough, or pats them gently with his hands an edge, and chafes or rubs them, concluding with cracking all the joints of the wrist and fingers, and if you will allow them that of the neck, being extremely dextrous at this work. All this, they pretend, not only ſupples the joints, but procures a briſker circulation to the fluids apt to ſtagnate, or loiter through the veins, from the heat of the climate, which is perhaps the beſt excuſe for this practice. The ſenſations it excites in ſome are ſurpriſing, by its inducing a kind of pleaſing langor or delirium, under which they are ready to faint away, and ſometimes actually do ſo. Both Moors and Gentoos are however extremely fond of this practice, and it is ſo common, that it would be hard to find a barbar-native who is not ſkilled in it, as one of the eſſentials of that profeſſion; of which ſome particulars are alſo different from the European. For they ſhave conſtantly with the grain, with great eaſe and dexterity, and have all one uniform ſet of materials, a round glaſs, with a handle ſtuck in their girdle like a dagger, which they put in your hands whilſt you are ſhaving: a little copper tumbler not bigger than a common tea-cup, and ſome inſtruments for picking the ears, and paring the nails, hung on a wire like a bunch of keys, or in a tweezer-caſe. In ſhort, one muſt do the Orientaliſts in general the juſtice to allow, that none are more ſtudious of the cleanlineſs and ſuppleneſs of the body than they are; which they perhaps not abſurdly conceive, conduces even to the pleaſure of the mind, and if even matter of ſenſuality, is ſurely the moſt excuſably ſuch.

The Gentoo women, and thoſe of the beſt faſhion, make no ſcruple of going to the river-ſide, and

and bathing publicly and indifferently in the ſight of the men. They go into the water indeed with their cloaths on; but the wetting them ſoon makes them cleave ſo cloſe to their bodies, that they expreſs very clearly the faſhion and turn of the limbs; a circumſtance which probably gave the Grecian artiſts the firſt notion of employing in ſtatuary a wet drapery, as exhibiting neareſt the juſtneſs of nudity, without its indecency. But when they come out of the water, and change their wet for dry cloaths, it is then that the eye of the moſt curious ſpectator is at fault; for they have ſo dextrous a knack at ſhifting, that though it is done ſo openly, not the leaſt glimpſe of any thing immodeſt can be perceived.

As to public diverſions, or entertainments, I could not learn there were any, except the dancing-girls, and the jugglers.

As to the dancing-girls, they form a diſtinct branch of the community; of which more ſhall be ſaid in its place.

The jugglers, or ſlight-of-hand-men, greatly excel whatever I have ſeen or heard of them in Europe. Their tricks and deceptions in ſhort are ſo amazing, that I confeſs I have not the courage to relate what I have myſelf been eye-witneſs to, or been credibly aſſured of, for fear of being taxed with running into that marvellous of which travellers are ſo fond. One ſtory, however, I cannot help relating, though digreſſively on this occaſion, as I think it does honor to humanity, and not the leſs, for being found in ſo low and deſpicable a claſs.

A long-boat with men going up from an Engliſh ſhip, to Calcutta, a fortified ſettlement we have on the banks of the Ganges in Bengal, ſtopped ſhort of it a conſiderable way, waiting for the return of the tide, and went on ſhore to a mooriſh

village, where juſt at that time were ſome of theſe jugglers ſhewing, to a mob gathered round them, their various tricks; one of which, and no juggle, was the firing a piſtol loaded with powder down one of their throats. On the arrival of the ſailors, this was to be repeated, for they had before done it, but their powder having been conſumed, one of the ſailors innocently offered the man ſome he had about him. It was accepted, and the effect of it was, that being much ſtronger than what they uſed for this purpoſe, it killed the man upon the ſpot. As he was a Mahometan, and the whole village was ſo, the mob inſtantly roſe, and were preparing to maſſacre all the ſailors there, in revenge for the Muſſulman's blood, and would infallibly have done ſo, but for the humane interpoſition of the jugglers themſelves, who declared, that however ſorry they might be for the death of their brother, it was by no means imputable to the Engliſh, who were evidently clear of any malicious deſign in it. This alone appeaſed the populace, and the ſailors were ſuffered to return quietly to their boat.

There is one particular branch of the art of theſe jugglers, I cannot paſs by, too well atteſted to doubt of it, and of which thoſe who practiſe it never refuſe giving the cleareſt proof; which is their incantation of ſnakes; I ſay incantation, though no doubt it is to be naturally accounted for, however incapable I am of it. When a ſnake lurking in an houſe has bit any perſon, one of theſe men being ſent for, will, with an inſtrument ſomething reſembling a flageolet, play certain tunes upon it, the ſound of which operates ſo powerfully on the ſnake, that he comes out of his hole, forced as it were, and with apparent reluctance preſents itſelf to thoſe ready to kill him. I am fully aware of the ridicule this will meet with from many; but prefer

even

even the certainty of incurring it, to the suppression of what I tried myself to disbelieve till convinced of it. In the mean time this incredulity, often indeed well founded, but when too general has this ill effect, that it prevents examinations, which might issue in very valuable discoveries.

At Surat, all religions are tolerated; than which nothing can be more political, especially in a place of such universal trade. The Moors, who are the masters, seem to relax of that rigor and fondness for making of proselytes, they have in most other parts where their religion prevails. They are so little curious of encouraging apostates, that there are very rare instances of any, and those, generally speaking, live and die neglected and miserable. If they take an European into their service, as they sometimes do, in quality of gunners, for they think all Europeans are born engineers, they never trouble their heads with what religion they are of, or molest them about it.

The inhabitants in and about Surat are commonly very industrious, and have on foot a number of manufactures, which it would be too tedious to specify; but the most considerable is that of their atlasses, or sattins flowered with gold or silver, which have a rich substantial look, though otherwise in a very indifferent taste. The flowers ill fancied, and without air, and the red color which is mostly used, for the ground, dull and unsightly.

Some shawls are manufactured there; but few and not of the finest sort, those coming from the province of Cachemire on the borders of Tartary, being made of a peculiar kind of silky hair, that produces from the loom a cloth beautifully bordered at both ends, with a narrow flowered selvage, about two yards and a half long, and a yard and a half wide; which without farther trouble of mak-

ing up, ſerves the natives for a wrapper or mantle; and, according to the price, which is from ten pounds and upwards to fifteen ſhillings, joins to exquiſite fineneſs, a ſubſtance that renders them extreamly warm, and ſo pliant, that the fine ones are eaſily drawn through a common ring for the fingers.

The manufacturers have a commodious way, when their work has not been beſpoke, as it commonly is by the wholeſale merchants, to make a quick ſale of it: they repair to the Bazar, or market-place, where they ſtand and hold up the piece ready finiſhed, to any chapman that ſhall offer their price, much in the ſame manner as our farmers ſtand in rows at a country-market, with ſamples of grain in their hands, and they rarely return without diſpoſing of them, as there are a number of petty dealers attend the market for the purchaſing of them, thus at the firſt hand, and vend them afterwards in quantities to the greater merchants. This cuſtom will be hardly thought a bad one, as it is a continual incentive to induſtry, by ſhewing it an eaſy and aſſured vent of its produce, and beſides, frees the poor manufacturers from the tyranny of the wholeſale dealers.

Surat too being the only ſea-port of very conſiderable note, and unpoſſeſſed by the Europeans, in the whole immenſe dominions of the Mogul, it is eaſily imaginable that the inland trade, eſpecially to Delly and Agra, the capital reſidences of that court, which are about a month's journey from Surat, muſt employ a number of caravans, or caffilahs, for the diſtribution of the imports. But unfortunately the roads, never perfectly ſafe, on account of the independent Rajahs, are lately grown much leſs ſo, from the troubles and convulſions of the whole country.

Formerly

Formerly the security of them was provided for by a very singular expedient. The whole caravan at setting out was put under the protection of one single person, a boy, but oftenest a woman, hired and selected from a cast sacred for that purpose among the Gentoos, from whose free-booter's tribes all the danger of the journey arises. When any of these met with the caravans, on a design to pillage them, it was the duty of this single guard to interpose, and protest against the violence, with a solemn threat to kill him or herself in case they persisted: which threat was always attended with the execution, if the robbers proceeded further; and the sure consequence was, their incurring thereby all the guilt of sacrilege, and the penalty both of a civil and religious excommunication never to be taken off, being thereby for ever degraded, detested, and renounced by their own tribes. I do not however believe that this custom still subsists: whether the race of those faithful suicides is extinguished; or what is most probable, that the Gentoos have made their religion yield to their ruling passion for plunder, and brought this custom into disuse, from their ceasing by common consent to respect it.

Betwixt Surat and Bombay there is a constant intercourse preserved, not only by sea, the distance being but small, but by Pattamars, or foot-messengers, over land, which are used in the same way throughout India, and hired at a moderate rate, who carry letters to add fro. They are very expeditious in their journeys, and commonly use opium, which they think fortifies them, and by this means will keep on running, and dozing as it were at the same time with their eyes open, and without feeling the fatigues of the way.

And here having mentioned opium, I shall take the liberty of a small digression thereon, that I may

not return to it again. It is not then only the Pattamars, who take opium in the intention of ſtrengthening their powers for ſervice, but moſt of the hard laboring people of Surat, and eſpecially the Hamalls or porters, who make a livelihood of carrying goods to and from the warehouſes, and will endure ſuch loads, as few of the ſtouteſt Europeans can undertake. I have been credibly aſſured, that ſome of theſe fellows will take at one doze three copper gorze weight of this drug, without danger; which is conſiderably above an ounce weight, and pretend that it greatly enables them to work and carry burthens.

Many of the rich and great contract a habit of it, but with different views; conſidering it not only as a high point of ſenſuality, from the pleaſing deliriums they experience from it, but as a ſpecific for procuring a priapiſm that ſerves to ſpin out the venereal congreſs, as long as they pleaſe, by taking a competent doſe of it, uſually in a vehicle of milk, boiled away from a large to a ſmall quantity; and when they have a mind to check or put an end to its operation, they do it by ſwallowing a ſpoonful or two of lime-juice, or of any equivalent acid. By this means, however, it commonly happens that the uſers of it, by forcing nature, wear out its ſprings, and bring on themſelves prematurely all the inconveniences of old age: but this is a conſideration that weighs little with the generality of the Orientaliſts, always more actuated by any preſent favorite objects, than by a providential regard for remote ones.

If you would believe them too, there is a kind of paradoxical mixture of effects in the operation of this drug, cauſing at once a ſeeming heavineſs of the head, and viſible ſleepineſs of the eye, and yet withal a great watchfulneſs; in confirmation

of

of which, the following story passes current at Surat.

That one of its town-governors, on receiving a visit from a Gentoo-rajah, with whom he was in friendly correspondence, at a garden just out of the city-walls, they met with each their guards and attendants, and without any of that treachery, which is not uncommon among them, intended on either side. As they were walking together in the garden, the governor took notice of the Rajah's guards, who were squatted down in their manner, under an open guard-room, with their heads leaning, or rather nodding upon their naked swords, and to all appearance dozing, or fast asleep. The governor then smiling remarked to the Rajah, that he had a very just opinion of his good faith, since he would venture himself to this interview with guards in such a condition, from the opium he knew it was their custom to take. "That, says the Rajah, is your mistake, and to "prove it to you, if you have any body near you, "of whom you do not care what becomes, bid him "as softly as he pleases, pluck a flower out of any "of their turbants." The governor, who either had such a person at hand, or did not apprehend the consequence, ordered one he pitched upon, to do what the Rajah had mentioned; in proceeding to which, with all the caution recommended, and addressing himself to him, who seemed the most overcome with sleep, the Rajah's guard felt it, and without more ceremony, at one stroke cut off his arm, and the rest were instantly alert, and on foot; and thus the governor was satisfied of their vigilance, at the expence indeed of a servant, whose being guilty enough to deserve an exposure to such a trial, or innocent, was probably no great matter of consequence under that perfectly arbitrary government.

Opium is alſo conſidered by theſe people as ſuch a ſpecific inſpirer of courage, or rather heedleſſneſs of danger, that the commanders make no ſcruple of allowing it their ſoldiers, eſpecially when employed on any very perilous or deſperate enterprize.

The beſt in the world is ſaid to come from Patna, on the river Ganges, where at leaſt the greateſt traffic of it is made, and from thence exported all over India; though in ſome parts of it, eſpecially on the Malay-coaſt, it is prohibited under pain of death, from the madneſs, and the murderous effects of that madneſs, it has on the inhabitants; and yet the gain attending this article, makes it be ſmuggled into thoſe countries, in ſpite of all the laws and precautions againſt it.

The ſoil about the Ganges is accounted the beſt for producing the ſtrongeſt ſort of opium; of which one inſtance occurs to me, too remarkable to ſuppreſs the mention of it. A Nabob or viceroy of thoſe parts having invited an Engliſh factory to an entertainment, a young gentleman, a writer in the company's ſervice, ſauntering about the garden, plucked a poppy, and ſucked the head of it, probably not apprehending any greater force in it, than thoſe plants have in England. The conſequence was his falling into a profound ſleep, of which the Nabob being apprized, and in much concern, eagerly enquired of the particular bed out of which the poppy was gathered by him, and on being told it, with great expreſſion of ſorrow, apologized for his having ſuppoſed that the nature of the poppies was in general too well known to have needed any warning, eſpecially as the taſte was ſo far from tempting, but that this peculiar ſort, on which the Engliſh gentleman was ſo unfortunate to pitch, admitted of no human remedy or counter-poiſon, ſo that nothing could ſave him, as effectually it turned out, for that ſleep was his laſt.

Bang

Bang is alſo greatly uſed at Surat, as well as all over the Eaſt, an intoxicating herb, of which it may be needleſs to ſay more after ſo many writers, who have fully deſcribed it: and it is hard to ſay what pleaſure can be found in the uſe of it, being very diſagreeable to the taſte, and violent in its operation, which produces a temporary madneſs, that in ſome, when deſignedly taken for that purpoſe, ends in running what they call a-muck, furiouſly killing every one they meet, without diſtinction, until themſelves are knocked on the head, like mad dogs. But by all accounts this practice is much rarer in India than it formerly was.

But, to reſume my more immediate ſubject; I am to obſerve, that the intercourſe between Bombay and Surat is not without great reaſon kept up, from the conſtant attention which is to be had to the company's inveſtment, in the country-manufactures that is carried on there, and to the ſale of the ſtaple-goods ſent out from England to that ſide of India, of which Surat is the capital mart, though lately greatly declined through the embroils of the country.

The manufactures peculiar to that province of Guzarat, are chiefly carried on by the induſtry of the Parſees, or the race of Perſian refugees, who, ſome centuries ago, fled from the face of the Mahometan perſecution, then invaders and conquerors of the Perſian dominions. They were brought to theſe parts where they and their race have ever ſince continued *, in three veſſels, in which they embarked with the utmoſt precipitation and confuſion, and committed themſelves to the wind and weather, to be carried into whatever country would receive them. By tradition, and according to all probability, as being the moſt obnoxious to

* Except a few who have lately ſettled at Bombay.

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the conquerors, there were among them some of the principal men of the country. Nowrojee-Rustumjee, who was here in England, and whose family was in the greatest consideration among those people, deduced his descent from those kings of Persia, whose dynasty was destroyed by the Mahometan invasion, when the last prince of it, Izdigerdes, a descendant from Cosroes, the son of Hormisdas, was dethroned and slain about the year 650. But whether his pretensions were just or not, or whether the rank of those fugitives was in general as high as their posterity assert it was; when they arrived at the country where Surat stands, they were hospitably received by the Gentoo inhabitants, who compassionated their distress, and were perhaps themselves alarmed with reason, as it proved afterwards at the progress of the Mahometans, which had thus fallen, like a storm, on a country not very distant from them.

I KNOW there are several fabulous traditions of these refugees having landed where they first saw a fire, which they looked on as a propitious landmark to them, and that the Gentoos made a covenant with them, that they should conform to their customs, especially as to their abstaining from all animal food. But I never could learn, that these points of their history were attested by any authentic testimonials, or credited by the principal persons among them. The sole article of any consequence imposed on them was, that they should not kill any cows, or beasts of that species, which the Parsees their descendants to this day avoid, as looking upon themselves to be bound and concluded by that agreement of their ancestors; and even at Bombay, where they have the full liberty of acting as they please in that respect, I could never learn that they departed from this restriction. They also, in many other respects, adopted the manners

manners and customs of the Gentoos, rather from imitation than any necessity; though otherwise they have kept their race unmixt. The wretched remnant of the Parsees who staid behind in Persia, and weathered out the storm, acknowledge these Parsees for their brethren: but there does not appear to have been any farther correspondence, or connection established between them. The truth is, that the Guzarat-Parsees seem to have entirely forgot their original country; and from a long habituation, continued through so many generations, to consider India as their proper country; even though from the laws of it, admitting no mixture by proselytism, or intermarriage, they must for ever remain a stranger race. They are generally fairer than the native Indians, especially the coasters; though mostly and at best of a sallow yellowish hue; but the women, those of them who are kept up and not employed in hard work, are tolerably clear skinned. They are most of them an industrious people, and the necessity probably that obliged their ancestors on their first arrival to betake themselves to labor for a livelihood in a strange country, has so far propagated its influence on the spirit and manners of their descendants, that they are the chief supporters of the Surat manufactures, and of agriculture. Numbers of them are also employed in ship-building, and in the distillery-trade; which last commonly flourishes or sickens according as the Moorish governors of Surat, for the time being, are superstitious observers or not, of the Mahometan law; which however, rather advises against the drinking of spirituous liquors, than it formally condemns it, several passages of the alcoran seeming rather levelled against the abuse than the use of them, though expressed in such a manner, as if the law-giver had known human nature well enough

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to think it easier totally to abstain from a pleasure, than to be moderate in it.

For the rest, none, or but inconsiderably few of the Parsees, either meddle at all with the government, or with the military; submitting quietly to the power that is uppermost, whether Gentoo or Moorish, and consequently for their usefulness and inoffensiveness, generally meet with protection from both.

At present the Moorish government, at least nominally, prevails at Surat, though greatly declined and over-awed by their neighbors the Morattoes, with whom it is obliged to temporize and keep such measures as nearly resemble a submission. Nor is it likely but things may soon end in that, unless the Moors, who are too much outnumbered by the Gentoos to have any hopes of succeeding against them, should be enabled by foreign assistance to re-assume their former ascendancy, and once more drive the Gentoos back into their mountains and fastnesses.

As matters now stand, the Moorish sovereign of Indostan, so known by the title of Mogul, or rather as it should be Mongul, is no more than a phantom on the throne, ever since the invasion and retreat of Shah Nadir; reigning precariously, and at the pleasure of the principal Gentoo-Rajahs, who raise, depose, and even murder him, just as their interest or humor prompts them. The name of the Mogul-sovereignty would soon cease to exist, if they could agree among themselves whom to substitute; and this very indetermination may not improbably be the occasion of their losing the ground they have won, especially if some of the Mahometan neighboring powers should be tempted either to restore the authority of the Moguls, or to plant themselves in his place; and either of these

events

events is especially to be apprehended from the north-east Tartars, bordering upon Indostan, who are now greatly recruited in numbers since the exhaustment of those countries by the draughts out of them, of those swarms with which the two great conquerors, Ginghis Cawn and Tamerlane, subdued almost all Asia, carrying havock and desolation wherever their arms penetrated, and terror to remoter parts, and even to Europe itself. But, as a summary account of these mighty leaders may give a clearer notion of some points necessary to account for the present constitution and position of Indostan, I hope it will not be thought out of place, or impertinent to my subject.

Ginghis Cawn, about the year 1200, after collecting under his standard an innumerable army of these north-east Tartars, which he had the influence to unite under him, though out of various tribes and nations before then utterly discordant, and living much like the savages of America, not only brought into subjection the great kingdom of China, and the nations bordering upon it, on the outside of the famous wall of that country, but extended his conquests to a great part of Asia, then and now possessed by the Mahometans, to whom he professed himself a greater enemy than to the Christians, whom he rather favored. As to himself, he was undoubtedly of that religion, which is called the religion of the great and learned of China, who hold no other object of worship but purely the *Thein*, or sovereign Being. This made him indifferent to all religions, and of course a tolerant; for as to the Mahometans he prosecuted them more on a political account, than for any particular aversion he had to their tenets. His sons however, after his decease, soon found that a conformity to the Mahometan system, would greatly advance their temporal scheme of settling

in the government of those rich countries, so preferable to the mountains and wilds of Tartary. Accordingly most of them adopted the mussulman faith, and made it their state-religion, to satisfy this new subject, though for the rest they acted as being far from bigots to it; as for instance, when Holagu Cawn, a grandson of Ginghis Cawn, pursuing his conquests over Persia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, at length took Bagdad by storm, and without respect to the sacredness of character among the Mahometans, of the line of the Caliphs, he exterminated the last of it in the person of Motazem, whom he put to death in the most ignominious manner, by having him dragged about the streets of Bagdad till he expired. Even though Motazem appeared before him in the quality of a supplicant, and in the hopes of asswaging his wrath, had on his shoulders the very cloak Mahomet had once worn, and given, in a transport of applause, to Caab a poet, on his reading some Arabian verses to him. He had besides in his hands the staff of that prophet; but that holy trumpery availed him nothing, for the Tartar-general ordered the cloak and staff to be taken from him, and to be burnt in a pan, the ashes to be thrown into the Tygris, not out of any contempt, as he pretended, but to hinder those precious relics from falling thereafter into profane hands. This Motazem was at once the last of the Abbassid line, and of the caliphs of the Mahometans, whose authority had been long confined to purely spirituals, after having been for more than three centuries stripped of their temporal power; for one of them, in the year 935, having unadvisedly wholly trusted it to the chief of the military, a Turk called Rayk, who thenceforwards knew how to keep it, and transferred it to his successors in his office, long famous in Asia, under the

the title of Emir-al-omrah, commander of the commanders, and afterwards by that of ſultan, who governed both the ſtate and the caliphs deſpotically, till they and the caliphate itſelf fell under the ſuperior ſtrength of the Tartar invaders.

But this Tartar-family ſoon after experienced the fate that uſually attends the partition of an empire. For the deſcendants of Ginghis Cawn quarrelling among themſelves, with all that inveteracy which uſually attends diſcord among relations, the whole race in a little time, either fell by one another's ſwords, or by the other Mahometan powers reſuming courage and ſtrength by their diviſions, ſo that at preſent not even a remnant of that family exiſts in any ſtate of power, except one branch of it, in the Crim or Precopian Tartary, which traces up a very dubious original to Ginghis Cawn, and is now a precarious tributary dependent on the Ottoman Porte, under the title of Khan or Cawn of Tartary. In ſhort, in leſs than two centuries there was a clear ſtage, as to any material oppoſition from the princes of that race, even in Tartary itſelf, for Tamerlane to aſſume the ſupreme authority, who treading exactly in his ſteps, over-ran the greateſt part of Aſia, with a great army of Tartars, and in 1402, gave that celebrated defeat to Bajazet whom he took priſoner. But as if it had been fatal for thoſe of that country to make conqueſts with more eaſe than they could preſerve them, in ſcarce more than a century, all his deſcendants, from the very ſame error of partition, and its conſequences, were extinguiſhed except that branch of it, which had penetrated into Indoſtan, and conquered it from the Pattans. Theſe were alſo Mahometans, of the race of thoſe Sarracens, who, after they had ſpread their conqueſts over Aſia and Africa, had not neglected the rich provinces of India. For a party of Arabs,

and that not a very numerous one, had some centuries before Tamerlane and his sons invasion, made a descent at Massulipatnam on the coast of Coromandel, where, meeting with no resistance from an effeminate unwarlike people, they soon penetrated into the heart of Indostan, and planted and maintained their seat of empire where it now is, about Agra and Dehli, till they were driven out by the superior force of the Tartars. Whilst the Gentoo Rajahs, through their wonted disunion and indolence, saw the change with indifference, or at least without materially taking part on either side.

The Pattans however being thus dispossessed, those of them who escaped the sword, or would not submit to the conqueror, fled to the mountains that lye towards the borders of Persia, where, only sollicitous to preserve their lives and independence, they formed a separate state, never thoroughly subdued by the Moguls, and yet never in a condition to dispute the field with them, but always troublesome, especially on their associating with other tribes of the Gentoo mountaineers, as the Rashpoots, Coolies, and Warrells, and occasionally exercising their depredations on the adjacent countries, without its being possible for the Moguls to come at them to extirpate them, especially since themselves soon became enervated by the deliciousness of those fruitful plains.

Nay the Pattans themselves seem so convinced, that the climate and soil of those provinces only serve to rob them of that hardiness they contract in the hills to which they are confined, that they have hitherto given no indications of a desire to exchange them for more pleasing abodes, or a more accessible situation. This it was that enabled them to brave even the victorious army of Nadir-shaw, whom they very quietly suffered to penetrate into Indostan, and waited his return when loaded with the spoils

ſpoils of that country. Then it was that by their harraſſment of his troops in the ſtreights and defiles of the mountains, they ſhewed him they were ſo much maſters of the paſſes, as to force him to come to a compoſition with him for way-leave, that had all the air of a ranſom.

What then between theſe unſubdued Pattans and the independant Gentoo-Rajahs, and both inacceſſibly fortified in their mountains, it is evident, that the Mogul government had conſtantly a hard taſk to keep up a tolerably ſecure footing. Nor was it without at leaſt as much art as ſtrength, that it preſerved its power, and eſpecially with the Gentoos, whom as the moſt numerous, and being beſides the Aborigines of the country, it had moſt reaſon to apprehend. Either then from a deſpair of totally reducing them, or from a growing indolence, the Mogul ſucceſſors to Tamerlane applied themſelves to the winning over at leaſt to ſome ſhow of homage and ſubmiſſion, the powerfulleſt of the Gentoo-Rajahs. And this they chiefly effectuated by their great toleration and eaſineſs in point of religion.

It has before been obſerved, that the governing theology in proper Tartary, was the ſame as it is in China, and perhaps derived from China, ſo that the Mahometan religion profeſſed by the Moguls, in imitation of Tamerlane the founder of their dynaſty, was rather matter of political conformity, than of perſuaſion, ſo that it did not coſt them much to relax on this article. Even Aurengzeb himſelf, who was ſo ſtrict an obſerver of his law, is no exception to this, ſince it is well known, that he made his pretences to ſuperior zeal and auſterity, ſerve to the ends of acquiring and eſtabliſhing his uſurpation over his father, and over his brothers, whom he over-reached by purely theſe arts of diſſimulation, by which he recom-

mended himſelf to the Mahometan zealots in the army. All the Moguls then ſince Tamerlane took the party of toleration, the eaſier for that deiſm, which made all religions at bottom indifferent to them, whilſt they amuſed thoſe of all religions with a favorable diſpoſition towards them. Even ſome Roman-catholic prieſts, who had occaſionally been careſſed, and ſome even invited to that court, were the bubbles of this eaſineſs in the Moguls, to liſten to them, and even to permit their ſons, and princes of their blood to give them hopes of being proſelytes to them.

They would then, no doubt, for any ſcruples of their own to the contrary, have with reſpect to the Gentoos, acted the ſame part, as the Tartar princes had done with reſpect to the Mahometans. They would have politically embraced the Gentoo religion: but as one of its fundamentals is, the rejection of all proſelytes to it, they could not, even had their perſuaſion been real, have paid them that compliment: all they could do, and that they did, was to appear entirely averſe to any perſecution on a religious account, and for the reſt they continued Mahometans at large, in reſpect to the neighboring Mahometan powers, whom a throwing off entirely the appearances of that religion would have ſcandalized, and indiſpoſed againſt them, to no purpoſe.

Here I am ſenſible that the procedure of the Mogul-moors in deſtroying the temples and idols of the Gentoos, in many parts of the country, ſeems to contradict the idea I have attempted to give, on the beſt information I could get, of the Moguls ſpirit of toleration. For the fact is certainly true; though theſe outrages were never that I could learn committed, but in the heat of war, and in conſequence of the provocations that attend it: beſides that, ſome of their generals were hurried

ried on by their private zeal, ſo as to loſe ſight of the general ſyſtem of the court-policy; and what is more convincing yet is, that the Gentoo-Rajahs themſelves always looked on thoſe ſeverities as particular caſes of exception, or at leaſt never appeared to formally reſent them.

But whilſt the Moguls thus aimed at making their government the more eaſy, and ſupportable to that infinite number of Gentoos, by indulging them in the free exerciſe of their religion, they did not alſo neglect the policy of keeping up the diviſions and jealouſies among the moſt powerful Rajahs from whom they had moſt to apprehend: and in this they ſucceeded to their wiſh, and might probably long have continued the tranquillity of their government, but for the relaxation and indolence into which the latter Moguls fell. Inſtead then of keeping a ſtrict hand over the emirs, or great officers of the court, known by the title of omrahs, which is only the plural of emir, they ſuffered them to encroach on the royal authority, and themſelves became ſubjected to that emir, who had obtained moſt influence and intereſt with the military. And here again the Mogul was only defended from utter depoſition by the jealouſies, and not the loyalty, of the great emirs among themſelves, whoſe object of competition was, which of them ſhould get poſſeſſion of the Mogul's perſon, and reign under the ſhelter of a title, beyond which, and his ſeraglio or haram, they left him ſcarce any ſign of power. Some, even of the emirs, who were inveſted with the government of the greater provinces, not only fortified themſelves in them, and aſſerted an independence barely ſalved by a nominal homage, but entered into treaties with the Gentoo-Rajahs for their mutual ſupport. Thus the famous Nizam-al-muluck, formerly known by the name of Chicklis-Cawn, by leaving

his son in his government, and besides secured by his confederacy with the Morattoes, durst venture his person to court, where his practises were perfectly known, and for the which being known, he was but the safer; and, though he had many potent enemies there, his competitors for power, he had influence and management enough to procure one of the highest posts of the state, and to impose on his sovereign the hardest of all necessities, that of employing and trusting a traitor knowing him to be one. But even not satisfied with his domestic treasons, and finding the credit of his enemies at court encreasing against him, he invited the Persian Shah-Nadir, better perhaps known in Europe under the name of Thamas-Kouli Khawn, to invade the Mogolistan, pointing it out to him as an easy prey, considering the luxurious effeminate disposition of a court, weakened moreover by intestine dissentions. Shah-Nadir, whose ruling passion was avarice and rapaciousness, greedily listening to a proposal that so much flattered it, entered into Nizam-al-muluck's schemes, and accordingly, after taking Candahar, that capital fortress which is the grand inlet into that empire, invaded India, where his expedition met with that success, which has been too fully described by a Persian writer, translated by Mr. Frazer, to need a repetition here.

This event, however, so enfeebled the Mogul government, that the Gentoo-Rajahs beginning to feel more their own strength, seem now greatly to prevail, and will probably keep their ascendant, unless, as has before been observed, some of the hardy nations bordering on Indostan, should support the Moorish interest, and revindicate those rich provinces, of which the Mogul government has either lost possession, or where its interest is visibly

visibly declined. And in this they have the better chance to succeed, as the bulk of the Gentoos themselves prefer a Moorish to a Gentoo-government, for reasons on which I have already sufficiently touched *.

As to the Moguls themselves, or rather the principal Moorish courtiers, for the Indians vulgarly involve them all under that appellation, though numbers of them are originally from Persia, or other parts Tartary, they, generally speaking, affect great state and splendor, according to their various appointments, and posts; and none study more the luxuries of life, though in a manner and taste somewhat different from the Europeans.

They take care to have their seraglios, or harams, furnished with the handsomest women that can be procured for love or money. Those of Cashmire are the most preferred in the Mogolistan, as the Georgians and Circassians are over Persia and Turkey; and with reason, being much fairer than in any other province of the Mogolistan, and having besides the advantage of a delicacy in shape and make, which is chiefly in request among them. This taste they even push to such an extravagance, as to scruple no price hardly for a female slave, which to her other beauties should have that added of a plumpness covering the smallest bones that can be imagined, for in the bone they think the weight chiefly consists, and therefore those who weigh the least, are by them reckoned the rarest and most delicate pieces. Those who, among us, pass for comely majestic-dames, would not meet

* For a farther account of the emperors of Indostan from Tamerlane in 1398 to his descendant Mahomed Shah in 1730: the power of Nizam-al-Muluck: the conquest of Indostan by Nadir Shah in 1738; and the declension of the Great Mogul's power, see the introduction to my second volume.

with admirers among thoſe people. As to all their women, however, when ſhut up in their harams, they are extreamly jealous of them, and follow the uſual Aſiatic method of committing them to the guard of eunuchs, moſtly made ſuch by a total abſciſſion. The blackeſt Abyſſinian ones too are preferred, not only on account of their color not appearing ſo tempting, but for their fidelity and diſcretion, in which they excel the ſlaves of all other nations. In the mean time nothing can be well imagined more cruel, or more contrary to the benevolent inſtitutes of nature, than thus ſacrificing a number of poor creatures to the caprice and jealouſy of one man, who perhaps amidſt three or four hundred, nay as far as a thouſand and upwards, confines his embraces to a very few of them, whilſt the others, in the flower of their age, and with all the violence of the melting paſſion, inſpired and nurſed by the heat of the climate, pine away with unſatisfied deſires. And ſometimes the rage of them is ſo great, as to make them ſeek for relief, even to the greateſt hazard of their lives.

THIS engroſſing of ſuch numbers of women, beſides being attended with ſuch tragical events, and the injuſtice of rendering miſerable and uſeleſs ſo many of that amiable ſex, beſides the injury done to the population of the country, has another worſe conſequence, and that almoſt all over the Eaſt where this cuſtom ſo much prevails; as it inclines both the great and the meaner ſort to the nefarious ſin, the ſame effect reſulting from two very different cauſes. For as this cuſtom neceſſarily thins ſociety of the women, that would otherwiſe appear on the ranks for wives; the poorer ſort, from the ſcarcity of that ſex, in the neceſſity of giving their paſſions a vent, betake themſelves to their own; whilſt on the other hand,

hand, the abundance of it at command of the rich, breeds a ſatiety that operates the ſame diſpoſition. So that every conſideration, human and divine, ſeems to eſtabliſh the preference of the European law permitting but one wife, to the polygamy and concubinage of the Orientaliſts.

In ſhort, the Moguls have chiefly adopted not only the language of the Perſians, which is entirely in uſe at court; but their manners, and refinements of luxury.

Their buildings are all in the Perſian ſtile; and they are, like them, fond of fine gardens, and eſpecially of water, both dormant and in action from natural or artificial caſcades, the climate ſupplying them with plenty of ever-greens. In the midſt of the gardens, they have commonly neat, airy pavilions, contrived with ſpecial regard to coolneſs, where the owners indulge themſelves in parties of pleaſure with their women, in the heat of the day, and in the cool of the evening on the ſides of their ponds, finely ornamented with ſteps down to the water-ſide, and in the middle, on every ſide of the oblong ſquare, which is generally the figure of them, with places for recumbence, ſpread with Perſian or Turky carpets. Their gardens are commonly pretty much like the Chineſe, in a wilderneſs ſtile, with this particularity, that the door is generally at a corner of the wall, inſtead of being in the middle, as is the European manner. By this means the avenue to the pavilion does not front it, ſo as to preſent to its view the length of a gravel, or tediouſly uniform green walk; inſtead of which they prefer, for the pleaſure of the eye, beds of flowers, as variegated as poſſible, and in all the confuſion of wild nature, which are immediately ſubjacent to every ſide of the pavilion, to whoſe corners only the walks obliquely lead, ſo as not to interſect thoſe flower

ſpots.

spots. As to statues, knots, quaint devices, or symmetrized compartments, they have happily no idea of, or taste for them.

One of their great diversions at these recesses, and indeed at all their public entertainments, which diversion too they have in common with the Gentoos, are the dancing-girls; for whom they send to a particular place, either of their district or town, and of whom there are never wanting a competent number for the use of the public, to which they are so devoted, that one may safely say, that those of this profession have made vows of unchastity which they religiously keep. For according to their institutes, they are bound to refuse no one for their price, which is not indeed stated, but governed by their rate of beauty and accomplishments. There are even particular sets of them appropriated to the service of the Gentoo-temples, and the use of the Bramin-priests that belong to them. But wherever they are, whether settled or ambulatory, which last is often the case, they live in a band or community, under the direction of some super-annuated female of the same profession, under whom they receive a training, as regular as in an academy, or like horses in a manage, and learn all the paces, and acts of pleasing, in which they are but too successful. For nothing is more common, than for the princes, and chief men of those countries, to take a particular liking to one of those creatures, and to lavish immense sums upon her, notwithstanding their haram is stocked with far superior beauties of person, who are besides possessed of that of modesty, natural to women constantly sequestered from the sight of men, and which is not at least lessened in appearance to their lords, by that constitutional violence of desire to which they are subject, and which makes some of them transgress the

the bounds of decency, on particular occasions. These dancing-girls besides are generally recruited out of the people of all casts and denominations, though not without especial regard to beauty or agreeableness; yet even the knowledge of their being so common, cannot with many out-balance their natural and acquired charms; which will not appear incredible to those, who know how much the Opera-girls in France were, and have not yet ceased to be, in fashion. Their dances however would hardly at first relish with Europeans, especially as they are accompanied with a music far from delightful, consisting of little drums they call Gumgums, cymbals, and a sort of fife, which make a hideous din, and are played on by men, whose effeminacy, grimaces, and uncouth shrivelled features, all together, shock the eye, and torture the ear. However, by use we become reconciled to the noise, and may observe some not unpleasing airs, with which the dancers keep time: the words often express the matter of a pantomime dance, such as a lover courting his mistress, a procuress bringing a letter, and endeavoring to seduce a woman from one gallant in favor of another, a girl timorous and afraid of being caught in an intrigue. All these love-scenes, the girls execute in character-dances, and with no despicable expression, if they are good proficients in their art; for then their gestures, air, and steps are marking and well adapted. In some of their dances, even in public, modesty is not extremely respected, in the motions of their limbs, the quivering their hips, and other lascivous attitudes into which they throw themselves; without exposing any nudity, being richly dressed and bedecked with jewels in their manner. But in private parties, to which they are called, as in gardens, they give themselves a greater loose, and have dances in reserve; in which, though still without

without any groſſneſs in point of diſcovering their bodies, they are miſtreſſes of ſuch motions, and lewdneſs of looks and poſtures, as are perhaps more provoking. In ſhort, there is no allurement they omit, and rarely fail of their end; ſome of them amaſſing great wealth by this means. In the neighborhood of Goa, for example, on a part of the continent bordering on the diſtrict of that iſland, the dancing-girls founded a village, after being driven from Goa, by the zeal of the archbiſhop, where they reſide in a kind of body-corporate, and where the noblemen and chief inhabitants make parties of pleaſure; for it is not every one's purſe can afford the expence of them. Here many of theſe women acquire conſiderable fortunes by this ſcandalous traffic, and throw it into a common ſtock, for the carrying on literally trade, being concerned in ſhipping and the moſt profitable voyages, for which they have regular brokers and factors. Or at leaſt it was ſo, till Goa declined ſo greatly within theſe few years it has done, from its former ſplendor.

Notwithstanding numberleſs ſtories of their rapaciouſneſs, and perfidies to their gallants, there is one told of a dancing-girl, that proves there may be, even in that claſs, an exception to their general want of ſentiments. A Portugeſe vice-admiral, whoſe name, if my memory does not fail me, was Don Antonio de Sylva Figueroa, having laviſhed a great part of his fortune, among other extravagances, on a celebrated Gentoo dancing-girl, by whom he had a ſon, a circumſtance not very common in a commerce with thoſe creatures, ſaw himſelf reduced to a condition much beneath his rank and birth. In this ſtate he was, when, on receiving an order from the viceroy to equip a ſquadron for ſea, he found himſelf utterly unable to furniſh the requiſite advances to which the duty

of

of his poſt obliged him. This naturally made him uneaſy and melancholy, which being obſerved by his miſtreſs, who with ſome difficulty wrung the cauſe of it from him, ſhe left him abruptly, and in a manner, that made him conclude ſhe was, in the ſtile of that ſort of women, going to add her deſertion to that of fortune, and which would not have been the leaſt of his afflictions: but he was ſoon ſurprized at her return, with a caſket of jewels and gold to the amount of near three thouſand pounds, being more than he wanted, and which ſhe with a very good grace obliged him to take, as a mark of her affection. This piece of generoſity, for its being ſo uncommon made the more noiſe, and reaching the ears of the late king John of Portugal, it affected him ſo, that by the next ſhips he ſent out letters of legitimation to the admiral's ſon by that dancer. I am here aware, that a ſtory ſimilar to this in moſt of its circumſtances, is ſaid to have happened in England, from an opera-ſinger to a late Duke; which however, not deſtroying the credit of this, only ſerves to ſhew, that if vices are the growth of all climates, ſo are virtues too; though the inſtances are rarer, and ſurely rareſt among thoſe of that character.

The dreſs of theſe women, which is various according to the different provinces, is in all however the moſt gorgeous and alluring they can imagine. They are generally loaded with jewels, ſtrictly ſpeaking from head to toe, ſince even on their toes they wear rings. Their necks are adorned with carcanets, their arms with bracelets, and their ankles with chains of gold and ſilver, often enriched with precious ſtones. They alſo wear noſe-jewels, that at firſt have an odd appearance, but to which the eye is ſoon reconciled. Yet they, as well as other women in that country, have a peculiar way of managing and preſerving their breaſts,

breasts, which at the same time makes no inconsiderable part of their finery: for they inclose them in a pair of hollow cups or cases, exactly fitted to them, made of a very light wood, linked together, and buckled at the back. These at once confine the breasts so, as that they cannot grow to any disgustfully exuberant size; though from their smoothness and pliancy, they play so freely with every motion of the body, that they do not crush the exquisitely tender texture of the flesh in that part, like the stiff whalebone stays in use among Europeans. Then the outside of them is spread with a thin gold, or silver gilt plate, also set with gems according to their ability, which compose the richest part of their dress, from the display favored by their swelling orbicular form; but they are easily laid aside, and resumed at pleasure.

Many of them, especially those who are in commerce with the Moguls and Moors, use the embellishment aimed at of old throughout the greatest part of the East, of forming a black circle round their eye-borders, by drawing a bodkin between them, with their eyelids shut, that both sides may receive the tint of the stibium or powder of antimony, that sticks to the bodkin. The powder is called by them *surma*; which they pretend refreshes and cools the eye, besides exciting its lustre, by the ambient blackness. It is not easy for Europeans unaccustomed to it, to discern at first that grace the Orientalists think it adds to them; though they presently acknowledge is has at least as good an effect as patches, which appeared so strange to some Mallabar merchants, that on seeing the face of Mrs. King, the chief of Anjengo's lady, stuck with them, they condoled very seriously with Mr. King on his wife's distemper, but hoped those breakings-out would soon wear off. Thus arbitrary is

the opinion of points of dreſs in different, and often in the ſame countries.

ANOTHER occaſional ornament the dancing-girls put on, particularly on reſorting to their gallants: this is a necklace of many and looſe turns, compoſed of flowers ſtrung together, which they call mogrees, ſomething reſembling Spaniſh double jeſſamy, but of a much ſtronger and more agreeable fragrant odor, and far preferable to any perfumes, delighting at once the ſight and ſmell.

FOR the reſt, their cloaths are much in the ſame faſhion as the other women of that country. Inſtead of petticoats they wear what they call a lungee, which is ſimply a long piece of ſilk, or cotton-ſtuff, that, without any trouble to make up, ſerves them juſt as it comes from the loom, to gird round their loins, and deſcends to about mid-leg; ſo that the upper part clipping cloſe, marks with great juſtneſs the roundneſs, and ſwell about the middle, which tapering away to the legs, gives that looſe flow, to the lower part of the lungee, of which the ſtatuaries are ſo fond for expreſſing the garb or drapery of a nymph, whilſt the jewels and chains with which their other where naked legs are adorned, have ſomewhat the air of buſkins. From the girdle upwards to the neck they have no covering, but one of the ends of the lungee purpoſely left untucked-in, that is flung careleſsly over their ſhoulders, and a very ſmall jacket, ſo cut, as to leave room for the breaſt-caſes before-mentioned, and ties in a ſmall knot beforehand juſt above the girdle. On their head they wear nothing but jewels or flowers; and their long black hair is generally braided.

I HAVE before obſerved, that the younger ones receive a regular training from the elder and ſuperannuated, under whom they ſtudy in form all the art of pleaſing, which they underſtand by tradition and perſonal experience too well, not to know how

to paſs it for nature, in the imitation and refinement of which, without ſuffering it to be ſeen, their art ſpecifically conſiſts. Beſides, they have nothing of that nauſeous boldenſs which characteriſes the European proſtitutes, their ſtyle of ſeduction being all ſoftneſs and gentleneſs: their careſſes are not only well-managed, but well-timed, with ſtrict regard to keep meaſures in the cloying minutes of ſatiety.

I HAVE dwelt the more particularly on this article of Aſiatic luxury, as it enters for ſo much into all the entertainments publick or private, of the perſonages in thoſe parts.

THE dreſs of the Moors themſelves is extremely becoming; having, like the greateſt part of the Aſiatics, adopted that purely and originally Indian manner of wearing turbants, of fine muſlin, the circumvolutions of which form a covering to the head at once light, and cool, from the air eaſily penetrating the folds of it; at the ſame time that they defend it from the rays of the ſun, the heat of which acting in a ſtreight line, as cold likewiſe does, is rebated by the obliquities of the wreathing, which admits of an infinite variety in the manner of making up; inſomuch that many tribes, profeſſions, and even ranks in life, are diſtinguiſhed by it.

THE Turks undoubtedly took it from the Arabs and Perſians, who by certain tradition from the Indians, and that not until modernly, as appears by the deſcriptions of thoſe people by the antients. But that the Indian Aborigines never changed faſhion, or any other in their garb, appears clearly from what Quintus Curtius ſays of them on that head, and which holds good to this day. *Corpora uſque pedes carbaſo velant: Soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt. Lapilli ex auribus pendent; brachios quoque et lacertos auro colunt, quibus inter populares aut*

nobilitas

nobilitas aut opes eminent, &c. "They cloath their "bodies with a garment that falls as low as their "feet: they bind their feet with ſandals, their "heads with linnen. They hang their ears with "jewels, and deck their arms and limbs with "gold, ſuch of them eſpecially as are eminent for "birth and riches." This paſſage I have not quoted out of affectation; but to ſhew how tenacious the Indians are of their old cuſtoms, as the above deſcription exactly anſwers to their preſent dreſs, which has admitted of little or no variation. The Tartar conquerors in a great part conformed to it, as in many other particulars they found eſtabliſhed in India, in like manner as their Country-men uſed in China a policy, that did not a little contribute to quiet their conqueſts. Another point of finery they have, which is their girdles or cumberbands on the outſide of their long veſt or cabay, generally richly embroidered, with the two ends depending before, bordered with gold or ſilver tiſſue interwoven. In theſe they ſtick, on the left-ſide, their kittarrees, or daggers, the handles of which are either curiouſly worked or ſet with precious ſtones. The blade is ſhort, broad, and converging to a point, nearly in the ſhape of what the ancients call *Lingula*, from its reſemblance to a tongue. "*Gladiolus oblongus in ſpeciem linguæ factus.*" Aul. Gell. Their ſcimetars are alſo hung careleſly before them, with the ſame curioſity in the workmanſhip of their handles. Inſtead however of ſandals on their feet, they wear embroidered ſlippers, or papooſhes, which they take off within-doors, or leave at the feet of the ſophas when on a viſit. Even the Europeans muſt, on any audience at the Durbar of Surat, before they are admitted to ſit in the Divan before the governor, ſubmit to pull off their ſhoes; which is not quite

 unreaſonable,

unreaſonable, as the floor is commonly ſpread with the richeſt carpets.

The Moors are alſo much addicted to ſmoaking; and the great ones among them all affect the Perſian luxury in that article of cullioons, which are made like decanters of tranſparent glaſs, with enamel flowers in their proper colors, adherent to the bottom of them. Theſe are full of water, and plugged up with a machine, that at once holds the tobacco artiſtly caked and lighted, and the inſertion of a leathern pipe wired round, of two or three yards length, pliant and coilable like a ſnake, by which name it is known among the Engliſh. Through this pipe they ſuck in the ſmoak, ſo managed as to receive a coolneſs, and mildneſs, by paſſing firſt through the water, which it cauſes to gurgle, ſo as to form a not unpleaſing noiſe. The poorer ſort uſe only either a coconut ſhell, prepared in the ſame manner for ſmoaking through the water, which is vulgarly, from the noiſe it thus makes, called a hubble-bubble, or the tobacco-leaf ſimply rolled up, in about a finger's length, which they call a buncus, and is, I fancy, of the ſame make, as what the Weſt Indians term a ſegar, and of this the Gentoos chiefly make uſe.

The Moors alſo give ſtrongly into the folly of judicial aſtrology; which not they alone, but the Orientaliſts in general, including the Chineſe, I ſuſpect to have borrowed from the Indian Bramins, who in India at leaſt are generally the almanack-makers, and conſtantly mark in their kalendars, what they call their good and bad days, in the obſervation of which they are invincibly ſuperſtitious. Nor is it impoſſible, that among the many points of religion, that even in the earlier ages, ſpread from the Eaſt weſtward, and eſpecially through Egypt after the return of Oſyris, who in his military expedition had penetrated into India, that

that of the distinction of days into auspicious and inauspicious, "*Dies atri, fasti, nefasti*," might reach even the Romans, who are known to have been so scrupulous on that head. As to the Gentoo-Indians, they are to this day so infatuated with this notion, that their merchants will not let a ship sail, or care to strike a bargain, or, in short, undertake any business of importance, on those days that are set down for unlucky ones.

IT is also in respect of a Gentoo custom among the head Rajahs of India, that the Mogul emperor keeps his anniversary feast of being publicly weighed; a solemnity which answers somewhat to our keeping of birth days.

As to the manners of the Moors and Moguls, they are nearly the same as of the rest of the southern Asiatics, being greatly degenerated from the hardiness and martial spirit of the northern Tartars; as well from the relaxing softness of the climate, as from their sliding into the Indian voluptuousness and effeminacy. They are, however, from their childhood, tutored and trained up to great gravity and circumspection in public, and especially to curb any passions from breaking out into outward emotions of heat or anger, which they look on as the highest indecency. It is perhaps from this early habit of restraint and dissimulation, that their resentments, which might otherwise evaporate and pass off in menaces or hard words, rankles inwardly in their bosom, till it breaks out, as they see their time and occasion, into more sanguinary effects, and more fatal vindictiveness. Thence the frequent plots, ambushes, circumventions, perfidies, and deep-laid schemes of the great men among them, to destroy one another. Their school-education, which is rarely more or other than learning to read the Alcoran, and to write Arabic or Persian, is however supplemented by

their introduction into all companies, and ſcenes of public buſineſs, in their tendereſt youth, where their fathers carry them, not without a due preparation and inſtruction of how they are to deport themſelves; and by this means, under their watchful eye and controul, enter them early into that great univerſity, the world. The Gentoo merchants uſe the ſame method with their children, initiating them, with the firſt dawn of their reaſon, into all the myſteries of their trade and contracts; inſomuch, that it is not uncommon to ſee boys of ten or twelve years of age, ſo acute and expert, that it would not be eaſy to over-reach them in a bargain. In truth, their docility, ſedateneſs, and awful regard for their parents are ſurpriſing, conſidering the extreme fondneſs of theſe for their children, which they temper ſo judiciouſly, as not to ſpoil them; their whole ſtudy being to make them conſider their parents as the beſt and tendereſt friends they can have in the world; which point once carried, the reſt may be imagined to follow in courſe.

The Moors are alſo fond of having Abyſſinian ſlaves, known in India by the name of Hobſhee Coffrees. Theſe moſtly come from a certain province ſubject to the Negus of Ethiopia, called Innariah, to the ſouth of his other dominions, and bordering upon what is commonly called Negroe-land, in the heart of Africa, from whence they are ſelected, and a great traffick made of them, over all the Mogoliſtan and Perſia: but it is chiefly from the ports of Arabia and the Red Sea, that they are brought. Nothing can be imagined more ſmooth or gloſſy, and perfectly black than their ſkin, in which they far ſurpaſs the negroes on the coaſt of Guinea, and, generally ſpeaking, have not any thing of their thick lips, though otherwiſe as woolly haired as they. This ſpecies of ſlaves is, however,

however, highly valued for their courage, fidelity, and ſhrewdneſs; in which they ſo far excel, as often to riſe to poſts of great truſt and honor, and are made governors of places; when they take the title of Siddees. Such was Siddee Maſſaoud, a great favorer of the Engliſh, when he commanded ſome years ago in Rogipore, a ſtrong place on the coaſt of Deckan, near Bombay, till he was diſpoſſeſſed by the ſuperior force of the Morattoes; upon which he repaired to Bombay, and afterwards to Surat, where he was again put into command. Nor is this tranſition from ſervitude to power ſo violent as may at firſt be thought; ſince all the officers and inſtruments of the deſpotic courts of Aſia are involved under the general title of ſlaves, of which they are even voluntarily proud, Shah Nadir himſelf having worn that of Thamas Kouli Cawn, or Thamas the king's ſlave. To do the Orientaliſts juſtice, in general they treat their ſlaves with great humanity, and bind them to faithful and even affectionate ſervice, by their tenderneſs and next to parental care of them. Thus the Turk and Mooriſh merchants breed them up to ſuch truſt-worthineſs, as to employ them as their factors and ſupercargoes, and ſuffer them not only to amaſs fortunes to themſelves, but to bequeath them to their children, which is only matter of curteſy. The chief diſtinction between ſlaves of this ſort and freemen is, that the former are not allowed to let their beards grow, which is conſidered as the mark of liberty, as the ſhaving it is held the badge of ſlavery; and in this point the Arabs are punctiliouſly exact.

As to the diet of the Moors, it is far from being deſpicable. Rice ſtewed dry they uſe as bread, and look on it as more wholſome, light, cooling, and natural to the climate. The inſipidity of it is ſufficiently corrected by the ſauces with which they ac-

company it, and are made of fish, flesh, or fowl, generally cut or stewed so, as not to need the knife when served in, whilst the great point of them is to be high-seasoned and savory. They rarely have meat come to table in joints, and yet are very fond of a dish where the lamb or kid is roasted whole, and stuffed with raisins and pistachionuts, which then serve in lieu of bread to it. They have likewise almost as many names for their dishes as the European cookery; but the three most common ones all over India is, currees, kitcharee, and pilow. The currees are infinitely various, being a sort of fricacees, to eat with rice, made of any animals or vegetables; these last being chiefly used by the Bramins, who never eat what has had life in it; but the reigning ingredients are the pulp of the coconut for thickening, and turmeric for turning the sauce yellow, besides spices to heighten it. Kitcharee is only rice stewed, with a certain pulse they call Dholl, which they reckon very wholsome and nourishing, and is generally eat with salt-fish, butter, and pickles of various sorts, to which they give the general name of Achar. The pilow is too well known to need particularising, only it may be observed, that the addition of the bacon is an European improvement; but which, if the Moors do not admit, they supplement it with the highest spices; and the great ones, in their entertainments, make it a most costly regale, by the addition of ambergrease. I have been credibly informed, that at Fort St. George, many years ago, one dish alone was charged to the company at considerably above two hundred pounds sterling, at a treat given to a Mogul Nabob, when one Mr. Hyde was steward; a charge to which the company did not acquiesce, until it was fairly verified by examination. So much however is certainly true, that most of the Europeans soon reconcile them-

themſelves to the country-diet, and many at length prefer it to their own, even in point of taſte or reliſh, independent of its being undoubtedly more wholeſome, and more adapted to the climate, than the quantities of fleſh to which we are uſed in theſe colder countries, where the heat being more concentered facilitates the digeſtion. Few of the Moors abſtain from wine or ſpirituous liquors; but are fonder of cordials and drams than of wine, which they do not think ſtrong enough for them, no not even the arrac, unleſs treble-diſtilled: and, what is more unaccountable, they pretend that brandy, for example, better known on the Indian coaſt by the Portugueſe name of Aguardiente, is cooling, when moderately taken in the very midſt of any faintneſs, brought on by fatigue, or exceſſive heat of the day. They manage, however, with ſo much diſcretion and reſerve in this article, that even thoſe who have the character of the greateſt drinkers among them, are never ſeen, in public, in the indecent diſorder cauſed by that vice, which is not only fatal to their reputation, but ſometimes precipitates their governors and great men into a dangerous abuſe of their power, of which the following ſtory may at once ſerve for an inſtance, and to characteriſe the genius of thoſe Orientaliſts. The Nabob of the diſtrict of Ahmadavad, a prince of the Mogul's blood, not many years ago, in a drunken fit, had given an order to ſet fire to the great city of that name. His vizier, who ſaw that he was not in his ſenſes, and yet durſt not by a wiſe but hazardous diſobedience ſhock the profound eaſtern jealouſy of deſpotic authority, in this nice dilemma, applied for advice what to do to a Perſian princeſs, wiſe to the Nabob, and not more remarkable for the exquiſiteneſs of her beauty, than for that of her wit and good ſenſe; being beſides, not only more learned than the generality

of women in thofe countries, but fkilled in the compofition of Perfian poetry, all which merit of the mind and perfon was not thrown away, fince it had fucceeded in entirely captivating and attaching her hufband to her, who repofed himfelf principally upon her for the care of his government. Her anfwer upon this confultation was entirely conformable to the maxims of eaftern government, and to the dictates of humanity. "The autho-
"rity of the prince, faid fhe, is too facred a point,
"for either you or me to take upon us to revoke
"his order. He muft then be literally obeyed.
"Find out in any corner of the town, any of the
"moft detached little houfes, from which there
"may be the leaft danger of the flames fpreading.
"Set fire to them, firft giving the owners time to
"efcape, and paying them amply for the damage,
"and thus my hufband's authority will be pre-
"ferved, and any material mifchief prevented."
This counfel was immediately put into execution; and befides deferving to the authorefs the thanks of her hufband, when recovered from his intoxication, raifed the reputation of that princefs all over the Mogoliftan.

The equipages and carriages of the Moors confift chiefly in elephants, horfes, palanqueens and hackrees.

The riding on elephants is a point of ftate chiefly appropriated to the Mogul himfelf, to the princes of his blood, and the Nabobs of provinces, or the great officers of ftate: furely nothing can be fitter to ftrike an awe, or give the impreffions of grandeur and pomp, than one of thofe enormous beafts gorgeoufly caparifoned, and bearing on its back a kind of canopied throne, in which the perfon who fits is fo majeftically confpicuous from fuch an eminence. Thefe unweildy animals, however, are rather growing into difufe for war,
fince

ſince the more prevailing uſe of fire-arms, and the diſcovering that with all their docility, it is impoſſible to break and train them to the field, ſo as to be ſure they will not often do more miſchief to their own ſide, eſpecially when exaſperated by wounds, to which their maſs makes them a mark hard to miſs.

The beſt horſes in uſe come from Arabia, but chiefly from Perſia, and make a conſiderable article of trade both by ſea and land, and certainly no part of the world produces finer than either of thoſe countries. The Moors alſo ſpare for no care or expence in their keeping, and eſpecially for breaking them to the uſes of war.

For as to the hunting or racing, though no ſtrangers to thoſe pleaſures, they are ſo far conſidered by them as inferior points, as to have little or no ſhare in their training.

As to the Palanqueens, they ſeem to me the utmoſt ſtretch of invention for humoring the conſtitutional indolence of thoſe people, as ſurely a more lazy conveyance could not well be imagined. It conſiſts of a bed and bedſtead, with ſhort feet, covered over head with an ample canopy; commonly of either velvet or cloth, faſtened by the means of croſs ſticks, and ſilken or cotton cords to the arch of the ſtick or bamboo, from the ends of which arch proceed the poles which are all of one piece with it, and are carried by ſix, but moſt commonly four bearers, hired for that purpoſe at very low monthly wages. The perſon carried may very conveniently ſit upright under the arch, being bolſtered up in that poſture, by one or two large pillows, which may occaſionally ſerve to recline his whole length, or even ſleep on them by the way. This arch of the bamboo, is prepared whilſt the tree is young, by keeping it bent in ſuch a manner, as to grow into the deſired form, according to the perfection

perfection of which, and size, it bears a less or greater price. Some of these are made very expensive according to the decorations employed on them, such as the rich stuff of which this portable couch and its canopy are made, gold or silver tassels, and feet; which last are often carved and plated over to represent couchant lions, griffins, or other figures. The ends of the poles are also incased with the like metals, generally presenting a tyger's head: but this last is a badge of authority, granted only to a few of the greatest authority and distinction: in which point they are imitated by the English; for though there are few persons of any note or eminence, but what, in our settlements, keep palanqueens, the tygers heads are reserved for the governor, and second of the council. At Calcutta in Bengal some of our gentlemen, probably disgusted with the reproachfully indolent attitude incident to this method of carriage, invented a new one, by which means the bedstead was converted into a platform, that supported a common arm-chair well fixed on it, upon which they could sit more decently and full conveniently under the canopied arch. Others contrived, still preserving the bamboo-form a-top, and at the ends, so as to be carried on the shoulders a conveyance, in all other points resembling a sedan-chair. In Bombay and Surat during the rains, they cover them with a thatch, easily put off or on, made of the leaves of brab-trees, a species of wild palm, and lined with callico, forming a snug shelter impenetrable to the violentest rain, with windows that shut or open at pleasure. In Bengal and other places they defend them, but not so effectually, with a wax or oil-cloth thrown over them. The jealousy of the Moors has also suggested them a scheme of covering the palankeens, where their women are carried; which not in the least

least excluding the air, or sight from within, only hinders those without from seeing them; and this is effected by a various-colored silk-netting thrown loose over the whole machine. Of the same nature as palankeens, but of a different name, are what they call andolas, of which the couch is by the cross-sticks fastened to a streight instead of an arched bamboo, and consequently admit of no other posture than lying at length; these are much cheaper, and less esteemed than the palankeens. Doolies are much of the same make as the andolas; but made of the meanest materials, being only a coyr-cott slung also on a streight bamboo, and hardly ever used but to carry the poorer sick. The Moors too have affixed such an idea of state to palanqueens, that in most countries conquered by them over the Gentoos, they forbad these last the use of them, unless on the day of their marriage, for which institution they preserve so high a veneration, that it is proverbial with them to say, that a man on that day is as great as a king, and consequently grudge him no ensigns of royalty.

The hackrees are a conveyance drawn by oxen, which would at first give one an idea of slowness, that they certainly do not deserve: for there are of them, especially those which are well trained and managed, that would maintain their rate, against horses in full trot, and the smallest are generally the fleetest. Of these the Gentoos chiefly make use, especially the banyans and merchants of Surat; and though I cannot say from knowledge that they are directly concerned in the castrating of those animals, which is performed by a cruelly painful operation, not by excision, but by the compression of a ligature, that intercepting the nourishment conveyed to those parts, causes them to rot off; yet it is plain, that with all their bigot veneration for that species of animals, they make no scruple of using them in that

that ſervice. Certainly it is more for obtaining it the moſt effectually, and for the ſake of ſhow, than out of tenderneſs for them, that they keep them as ſleek, clean, and in good plight as poſſible, feeding them with balls made of the flower of gram, a kind of peaſe, and coarſe ſugar. So far they ſucceed, as to render the yoke of a pair of them far from being unſightly; the oxen of that country, eſpecially of Guzarat and Cambay, being generally white, like thoſe produced about Milan in Italy, and ſome of them as large at leaſt as our Lincolnſhire cattle; contraſting to which whiteneſs, they paint their horns with a ſhining black, and hang bells about their necks, in the ſame ſtyle, and for the ſame purpoſe, as thoſe of our carriers horſes. As to the conveyances themſelves, they are open on three ſides, covered a-top, and made to hold two people, ſitting croſs-legged in the Oriental manner, conſequently flat and without raiſed ſeats, but with a pillow at the back to ſupport or to recline on.

Here their jealouſy has invented another method of concealing their women from ſight, by means of folding blinds, or checks let fall round the open ſides. Theſe are commonly coarſely painted, and made of the fibres of the coconut, or brab-tree leaves, ſo diſpoſed and looſely ſown together, as to let in the air, and not hinder the ſight of thoſe within them. Theſe checks alſo, with the difference of being large and lined with ſome coarſe tranſparent ſtuffs, ſerve the natives for anti-porta's to their apartments, ſo commodiouſly at once for coolneſs and privacy, that ſomething of the like nature might not be a deſpicable improvement, even in Europe. Each hackrey has its driver, who ſits on the ſhaft, equipped with a goad, and who takes care of the oxen, and is called the hackrey-wallah: but, in Bengal, I am told,

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the moſt eminent of the Gentoo-merchants have come into the uſe of horſes and chaiſes, in which they are ſo fond of a parade, they know they may ſafely diſplay under the Engliſh government, and which for fear of a fleecing they durſt not do, under that of the natives, as to have them richly ornamented, and even the reins garniſhed with ſilver or gilt ſtuds.

Upon the whole, it muſt be allowed, that in moſt of thoſe points, in which the luxuries of life conſiſt, thoſe Orientaliſts are little if at all inferior to the Europeans. If they have not their taſte for ſtatues, paintings, cabinets of medals, and ſuch like articles of refined curioſity, they are not at leaſt deficient in thoſe of a ſenſuality, to which the warmth of the climate ſo ſtrongly and ſo unhappily inclines them, being by this enervity and relaxation, generally ſpeaking, rendered unſuſceptible of thoſe manly virtues, and that hardineſs conſtitutional to thoſe born under the colder and rougher zones. Thence moſt probably the indolent and ſlaviſh acquieſcence of the Eaſtern nations in general, under that deteſtable form of government, deſpotiſm: where not the profuſeſt fertility of the ſoil, not the Elyzian temperature of the air in many parts, nor the choiceſt bleſſings of nature, can atone for the want of the greateſt of them, Liberty. Here an Engliſhman cannot but, in the compariſon, find freſh incentives, if that could be neceſſary, to the love of his country, in which the mildeſt laws, under the moſt admirably tempered conſtitution, ſecure to him his life, his property, and what is deareſt of all, his freedom.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the state of the Roman Catholic religion in India. *Missions more political than religious. Qualifications of a Buon-Christian: quality of their concerts. Papists have borrowed several points of worship from the Orientalists, Mahometans and Heathens: points of resemblance: inquisition imitated from the Mahometans: inhumanity of the inquisition: precaution of the* English *against* Portuguese *priests: story of cardinal* Tournon: *lying miracles of the papists: ignorance of the* Portuguese *clergy: character of the jesuits: nunneries in* India: *false pretensions to merit in the Romish missions: reason of the* English *not attempting conversions in* India.

THE numbers of Roman catholics living under the humane protection of our English government in India, where they experience all the tenderness of our truly christian spirit of toleration, furnish me with one reason for attempting to set the state of their religion in those countries in its true light. A stronger one yet occurs to me, in the expedience not only of undeceiving the public of the many false accounts imposed on it by the Roman missionaries; but of wiping off the reproach of want of zeal in the protestants, for not taking the pains that they do, in the conversion of infidels to the christian faith. To this task I shall dedicate the present chapter, which shall be followed by others, continuing some remarks I had occasion to make on the three capital divisions of worship in those parts, the Mahometan, Gentoo, and Parsee religions; in which I shall proceed, purely as a candid relator of what I could learn of them worth particularising; and not at all in the stile

ſtile of a dry theological diſcuſſion, for which I confeſs myſelf entirely unqualified.

To begin with the Roman-catholic religion; it is neceſſary to premiſe, that the Portugueſe, who were the firſt modern diſcoverers of the navigation to India, were alſo the firſt planters of the chriſtian faith; ſuch as it is, after their mode, in the countries they conquered, or into which they penetrated. Charitably then granting that the pure piety of their kings, actuated their zeal for the propagation of their faith, without worldly reſpects, it cannot be denied, that the conduct of their miſſionaries was of a nature the fartheſt in the world from deſerving that opinion of diſintereſtedneſs. Wherever the force of the Portugueſe arms prevailed, as it might eaſily do over nations naturally unmilitary, and at that time ſo unacquainted with the uſe and noiſe of fire-arms, that they were as much conquered by the ears, as by the eyes, on which laſt the ſtrangeneſs of the European garb had not alſo a little effect; wherever I ſay the Portugueſe prevailed, or gained ſettlement, one of their firſt points was to ſtock the place with miſſionaries. Theſe, while under the ſanction of a military power that awed the natives, preached a religion ſo new, and ſo hard to be underſtood by the natives, and ſo ill underſtood by themſelves who preached it, at the ſame time collaterally uſed it as an engine for forming and ſecuring a party among their proſelytes, for advancing the Portugueſe intereſt and power in thoſe countries: which is exactly the ſame game, as had been long played by the French in America, with the Indian nations, allies to or dependent on us; with whom their miſſionaries inſinuated themſelves, where thoſe unfair preachers on our own grounds, acted the part rather of the panders of ambition, than of the propagators of religion.

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In the infancy of the Portuguese conquests, the awe they struck, the dazzling splendor of their successes, the partial preference and encouragement they shewed to all the Indian proselytes, all so far co-operated to favor conversions, that, especially on the coasts of India, they brought over if not considerable subjects, at least a number sufficient to boast of, yet nothing near so great as they represented. The truth is, that excepting a few of the best sort of the Gentoos, and those chiefly converts, less to the force of their arguments, than to certain temporal motives of advantage, of pique, or of resentment, their success chiefly lay among the lowest and refuse tribes of the Gentoos. A circumstance which alone, without any other reason of aversion, greatly impeded the progress of their mission among the higher tribes or casts, who could never be reconciled to that levelling spirit, which it is so much for the honor of the true religion to establish, by making all Christians as it were brothers. But the Bramins, and Nayrs, the noblesse of the Malabar coast, could not without horror think of seeing the lowest casts, whom it was even a profanation to come within reach of their breath or touch, raised to any equality with them: whereas many of those miserable people, won by a condescension of the priests to talk familiarly with them, nay to court and bribe them to quit their native religion, in which they were so despised, and hardly treated as human creatures, listened to their arguments, and either were or pretended to be persuaded by them. And it is certainly out of these that the bulk of the new christians was formed; if the name of christian may, without prophanation, be given to such as received no better instruction than they did, consisting chiefly in the ceremony of baptism, which they were never taught to understand, in the par-

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rotry of Ave-marys, and a few words learnt by rote, an Agnus Dei, or a copper crucifix hung about their necks, not forgetting a rosary, in which equipage, and with their special profession of believing implicitly whatever the priests believed, without knowing what, how much, or why they were to believe, they were currently pronounced *Buon-christianos*. Such is succinctly but truly the picture of by much the greatest part of the Indian converts, or of their descendants; for it is not to be supposed, but that there may be some, though a few, exceptions to this general description.

In the mean time, despicable as these proselytes mostly were, despicable I do not mean in quality of men with human souls, whose salvation is doubtless as precious as that of those of the highest rank, in the eye of the common father of all men, but on the account of their want of apparent conscientious motives, and of the evident insufficiency of instruction, both in point of time and manner to account for such a conversion; these proselytes, I say, became so many subjects, acquired to the state and church, the more to be depended on, as among the Gentoos there is no such thing as a regress ever admitted into their religion, after any act of renunciation, no nor even but very rarely when the separation has been incurred by some involuntary transgression of those capital points in which their religion consists, as shall be more fully shewn when I come to treat of it. Thus when once any of these Gentoos had embraced the christian religion, they generally stuck to it, since they could not go back to their own, though some afterwards turned Moors: but of this there were few examples. Though these converts were, as before observed, of the lowest tribes, Cooleys, Corumbees, Pooliahs, and even Poolichees, a cast hardly suffered to breathe the common air, being

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driven into the forrests and mountains out of the commerce of mankind, they did not fail of being useful to the Portuguese, who could deal by the way of arms, with the superior sort, and only wanted those of the lower for servants, mechanics, and soldiers, in which last capacity, under the name of Topasses, some did good service, and their descendants are to this day employed by our company in that quality. I have the more reason too to think, that the first converts were principally drawn out of those mean classes of the Gentoos, for that in Bombay I never could learn that any of the Christian-Indian families deduced their descent from Bramins, or Sinays, a kind of less strict Bramins, and second to them in rank. There might however easily be some without my knowing it; but I am sure they must be very few; and I was credibly informed, that even at Goa, the Portuguese metropolis, the same proportion was nearly kept. In the mean time the Portuguese of India are perfectly right to call their religion, THE FAITH, LA FEE, as being the only one, and it would be a pity there should be another like it on the face of the universe: for surely nothing can be imagined more repugnant to the true worship of God, in the beautiful simplicity of the true theology, nor more dishonorable to humanity. One would imagine, they had pillaged every other religion of every thing that was absurd, ridiculous, or detestable, to compose that monster of their own. I say nothing of what has been already made so clear, of their borrowing and adulterating, oftenest for the worse, from the ancient heathens, who themselves very probably derived many of their rites and ceremonies from the East; but shall only mention a few particulars, wherein the Orientalists challenge several points of the Roman catholic worship as originally belonging to them,

them, and which perhaps a chronological discussion of the specific time wherein they were adopted into that church, would more manifestly clear up.

The rosary, for example, is pretended to have been but an imitation introduced by some vagrant monks, of the Tezbush or Mahometan beads, on which those of that sect repeat their Bismillah, exactly in the same stile as the papists do their Paternosters, and Ave Marys; and even this custom comes originally from the Indian Gentoos.

Their mendicant friars seem but a copy, and a most wretched one, of their mendicant Joguys, whose abstinence from all animal food, contemplative life, austerities and macerations, far exceed whatever their famous ascetics ever so much attempted. From them too the Mahometans borrowed their institution of Faquirs, or holy beggars; so that both Europe and Asia owe all that pesterable swarm of vermin, the monks of both those religions, to a perverted imitation of the Gentoo religion in that point.

As to the matter of idols, it is great impudence in the Roman-catholics, to reproach the Gentoos with theirs; or to imagine, that the frivolous distinction in words, between the actual worship of them, or of the using them only as helps to their memory in their devotion, can be understood, or not rejected by them, when they see these words contradicted by their actions, and the images in their churches manifestly applied to and invoked, as if they were living representatives. Can they then be blamed, if idols for idols, they prefer their own; especially too as they infinitely less nonsensically, instead of exhibiting them in ridiculous human forms, such as, for example, a woman gorgeously drest like a curtezan, with a fruz bob-wig with a crown on it, and a large hoop-petticoat reaching down to her feet, tied round the neck in-

ſtead of the waiſt, and a little child in her arms, frame their images in a hieroglyphical ſtyle, of which the oddity and monſtrouſneſs are ſomewhat ſalved by the meaning couched under them, and by their diſclaimer of attempting to repreſent the Divinity under any thing of human likeneſs, further than to convey inſtruction in their mythology? Thence the idol of a man with an elephant's head, of another with a number of hands, denotative of his various power, and holding ſome myſterious or emblematical thing in each. All which the Bramins do not want for the ſenſe to oppoſe to the idols of the papiſts, than whom moſt certainly, ſuch as they are at leaſt in India, chriſtianity cannot have greater enemies, ſince whatever deforms the divine ſimplicity of the goſpel, and by evidently worldly-intereſted, abſurd, and cruel adulterations, tends to render a religion ridiculous and deteſtable, muſt naturally weaken its force of perſuaſion, and even involve in its condemnation, though but for having the ſame name as chriſtians, the purer reformed. Thus, for example, the Mahometans cannot, with reſpect to the proteſtants, overcome that inveterate prejudice they have conceived of their being God-eaters, as they emphatically and opprobriouſly nick-name the chriſtians in general, and accordingly lump concluſions againſt them all. And as to the papiſts endeavoring to explain away the horror created by that idea, by the word *Myſtery*, a word of which too they have a perfect conception, having one in the Arab language *Gheib* (*occult*) that anſwers to it, they treat it with the utmoſt ſcorn and contempt, as never allowing it to enter into any definition of the Supreme Being, concerning whom they eſteem all myſterious expreſſions to be a prophanation of the ſacred ſimplicity of his exiſtence, and at the moſt, and hardly ſuffer them to be employed in

accounting

accounting for ſome of the fabulous viſions of their prophet, as contained in the Alcoran, which however the wiſer and more learned part of the Mahometans are far from either reſpecting or believing.

Yet candor forces me to confeſs, that even this ſcandalous conformity of the papiſts worſhip, in many points to the Gentoos, might leſſen to the moſt ignorant and weak among them, the objection of too violent a tranſition; as they found in that church, ſo many ſuperſtitions of nearly the ſame nature as thoſe to which they had been uſed, and from which ſome of them, as before remarked, had moſt probably been originally deduced.

It is alſo in juſtice to the papiſts, that I am induced to acquit them of the infamy of being the original inventors of that infernal tribunal, the Inquiſition; for even that, it is not improbable they borrowed from Almamoun, one of the Arabian Caliphs, who firſt inſtituted a court of Inquiſition, which however he afterwards on better advice annulled on the queſtion which divided at that time the Mahometan ſect; *whether the Alcoran was created or uncreated:* a point of about as much importance, as the famous one agitated with ſo much rancorous and ſenſeleſs bigottry among the papiſts; *whether the Virgin Mary was conceived or not in original ſin?* But be whoſe it will the invention, not imagination can reach that mixture of horror and ridicule, with which the Inquiſition was ſet up and exerciſed at Goa, on the coaſt of Malabar, by way of aping that in Europe: only the victims of its cruelty in India, inſtead of the miſerable Jews, of whom theſe could not be a ſufficient number to glut its cruelty and avarice, and to furniſh out a decent execution at their *Autos da Fé*, were moſtly taken from out of the body of the Indian chriſtians, who thereby ſtood an infinitely worſe chance, than if their anceſtors or they had con-

tinued in their paganifm, and confequently unexpofed, and unobnoxious to the pragmaticalnefs of its jurifdiction. For its familiars or emiffaries, in want of prey, and having their eye efpecially on the converts, or their defcendants, efpecially if any of them had got rich, and would afford a handfome confifcation to that holy tribunal of theirs, the *Santa cafa*, made it their bufinefs to pry into all their actions and deportments: and as thefe people were generally of the loweft extraction among the Gentoos, and fo extreamly weak and ignorant, as to be incapable of being well-grounded in any religion, fome of them might, no doubt, be tempted to retain a kind of connection with their former brethren and relations, and even occafionally affift at fome of their ancient cuftomary practices, and thofe moft certainly not religious ones, as there was no return for them to that religion they had quitted, but which turned on the follies of divination, conjuring the fick, and the like. Yet this, or the fufpicion of it, was treated as a relapfe, and expofed thofe wretches who could only deferve pity, to the laft rigors of the church-perfecution: numbers of them were devoted to the flames, and pioufly configned to eternal damnation, for acts of the greateft fimplicity and folly, branded by the prieft with the names of forcery and apoftacy; though the firft is even too ridiculous to deferve a confutation of its exiftence at all, and the other was impoffible to them, if they had even the intention of it. However, as if this tyrannical cruelty had not of itfelf been execrable enough, it was accompanied with that ufual compliment made at the delivering over thofe miferable creatures to the fecular power, to be burnt; which is fo folemn a mockery of God and man, when the Dominicans, in whofe hands that jurifdiction is, with joint-hands, and pathetic fervor, entreat that no corporal

poral harm may be done to them; at the same that they well know the stage and the fagots are ready prepared for their execution, and that if they were not so, or that they were to be taken at their word, they would be the first to cry out that their church was in danger, and not improbably excite a rebellion to restore that very cruelty they affect to condemn, and of which themselves are the prime instigators and instruments. So consummately anti-christianized then may this tribunal be pronounced to be, from all the manifest motives and method of its procedure, that, if our blessed Savior himself was to return on earth, into any place under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, there is no doubt to be made, but that it would burn him for a heretic, if he ventured to preach his own pure and unsophisticated doctrine, or was to deny any of those points of theirs, on which they have founded the insolence of their tyranny, and the revenues of their avarice.

Nothing however gave the neighboring Gentoo princes, and Morattoes especially, so great an aversion for the Portuguese nation, as this report of their cruelty on a religious account; for themselves being all strictly and unreservedly observers of toleration in their dominions, they held such persecutions in the highest horror, which had not a little share in the Morattoes determination to invade them as they did, and strip them of their territories.

In the mean time, as the christian Indians were chiefly composed of such as had been converted by the Portuguese missionaries, and numbers of them falling under the English domination, the English, who had sufficient cause to be jealous of the plots and conspiracies of the priests of that nation against their interest, and yet were unwilling to deprive their Roman-catholic subjects, as for exam-

ple Bombay, of the fulleſt liberty in their own way of worſhip, fell on the ſalving expedient, of an indirect application to the court of Rome, for its ſending miſſionaries of any other nation to take charge of the pariſhes under their juriſdiction, and by this means at once removed any ſuſpicion of intolerancy, and guarded againſt the danger from the ſeduction and arts of the Portugueſe prieſts. Theſe laſt were more agreeable to the chriſtian Indians in general, eſpecially as the Inquiſition had no hold over thoſe of them who were our ſubjects, and was therefore no longer an objection to the prieſts of that nation, whoſe groſs ignorance ſuited better with theirs, and whoſe diſcipline was more relaxed in points of morality, and in all points that did not affect the power of the church.

Our ſettlements were ſupplied with French, German, or Italian miſſionaries, generally of more conduct and learning than thoſe of the Portugueſe; and who were always, according to their degrees of merit, treated with regard, and even familiar friendſhip, by the Engliſh gentlemen. Certain it is too, that they live with the greateſt freedom and eaſe under our government, whoſe protection ſome of the vicars of the pariſhes do not even ſcruple to reclaim againſt any vexation or oppreſſion from the ſuperiors of their own church; as after admiſſion, they are not to be removed or replaced without the conſent of the Engliſh government. It has been ſaid, but with what truth I do not pretend to warrant, not being ſufficiently informed, that at Madraſs the Engliſh ſmarted for not having taken the ſame precaution againſt the French, their neighbors there, as they had done againſt the Portugueſe; for that the French prieſts of a fine church, they were allowed even within the walls,

had

had not a little contributed by their intelligence and connections with their countrymen at Pondicherry, to further their designs on that our capital settlement on the Coromandel coast.

AMONG many instances that might be brought to shew, that pious frauds run through the whole of that religion, in all the nations of it, though sometimes discountenanced by the honester part of them, I shall just mention one story currently received in India. When cardinal Tournon, who was specially commissioned by the Pope to inspect, settle, and report to him the state of christianity in China, for which he could lay no stress on the manifold false accounts of the jesuits, and of the religious orders there at variance with them; he touched in his way on the coast of Coromandel, and at a particular district there, under the spiritual care of French priests, out of curiosity called for the register of baptisms, an extract of which had been printed at Paris, setting forth, that one of the fathers, as the missionaries are called, had converted and baptised so many thousands in one day, that he was forced to have two men to support his arms, tired with the ceremony of blessing and crossing such numbers. The register was produced, and there did not appear that on that, or any other day, more than one or two had received baptism. On that falsification and the priests excusing this fraud, on the old score of a pious intention, he duly reprimanded them, as he was in truth reckoned a man of probity. Yet he fared accordingly; for if the jesuits did not even poison him in China, as they were closely and perhaps falsely accused, at least they were the authors of such indignities and usage to him, as amounted to the same; since he sunk and died under them, a martyr to their jealousy and fears of his reporting nothing but what was truth of them.

what a bigot of that nation himſelf told me; that no cucumbers, plantains (a round oblong fruit) or any thing in ſhort of a ſuſpicious form, was ſuffered to paſs their turning-box, without being firſt cut in ſlices and diſabled; leſt thoſe ſpiritual ſpouſes of the Divinity ſhould make a very unſpiritual uſe of them.

In ſeveral books of voyages, and eſpecially thoſe written by the prieſts of that church, you ſeldom fail of meeting with pathetic deſcants and encomiums on the ardent zeal of the miſſionaries, that for the ſake of propagating the goſpel quit their native countries, brave all the inconveniencies of travelling into foreign ones, and there expoſe themſelves to all hardſhips, dangers, and even to martyrdom. All this is ſpecious; but generally ſpeaking falſe; notoriouſly ſo in India, where toleration is almoſt univerſally practiſed. If any of them have ſuffered in ſome parts, as they certainly have, the cauſes muſt be ſought for not in religious but political provocation. Wherever they neſtled, or could get footing, the firſt uſe they were ſure to make of their power and influence among their proſelytes, was to put the very government, to the mildneſs of which they owed their admiſſion, into danger, both from foreign and domeſtic enemies, by their cabals and encroachments on the temporal power. For this it was that they were perſecuted, and not martyrized but puniſhed, even to the utter extirpation out of Japan and Ethiopia of the religion they had introduced, and which thus ſuffered for their crimes and exceſſes, not without involving numbers of innocents in its fall: but in purely India, where they obtain ſettlements, even under the Mooriſh and Heathen princes, it is always their own fault, if they are not even treated with tenderneſs and reſpect. Every one who knows the condition of Monks in the European convents, where

where they are the ſlaves to their ſuperiors, and to the duties of a ſequeſtered life, having nothing but the pittance and allowance of the order, muſt alſo know, that many of them can hardly change it for a worſe: whereas, when once arrived in India, and placed at the head of pariſhes, in thoſe delicious and fertile countries, their life then becomes a very pleaſing tranſition from their former one, in every point of eaſe, luxury, freedom, and ſpiritual power over their black flocks eſpecially; whoſe ignorance and ſimplicity afford them all the advantages they could wiſh of gratifying their paſſions, of which as mere men they are ſuſceptible, and as ſuch commonly indulge; with the utmoſt ſafety, each being a kind of little pope in his diſtrict: ſo that it is a mere jeſt to attribute any great merit to the motives of their expatiation and apoſtolical labors. It is alſo not a new, though a perfectly juſt obſervation, that no miſſionaries hardly ever chuſe any theatre for their miſſions, unleſs in thoſe countries where there is money or good living to be procured. They take ſpecial care to ſteer clear of thoſe deſtitute and barren places, where nothing but naked converſions are to be hoped. On ſuch a choice too their merit at the court of Rome depends. If the ſucceſs of their famous Xaverius had been among a poor obſcure people, inſtead of the wealthy Japaneſe, he had probably never been canonized, or his name found a place in the Romiſh calendar.

As to the Engliſh, who came later than the Portugueſe into India, they had ſurely reaſon enough from the deſpicable ſtate in which in they ſaw the boaſted converſions operated by that nation, and from the indiſpoſition of the ſoil, to receive with any hopes of fruit, the ſeeds of the evangelical truth: they had reaſon enough, I ſay, to be diſcouraged from attempting, what in all moral probability

bability could promise no success, without such a power of miracles, as was not given to them, which they disdained to forge, and which nothing human can supplement with efficacy against the invincible opposition of the united powers of climate, character, and an inveterate prejudice, yet more confirmed by the example of such converts, as compose that contemptibly disfigured and corrupted christianity, of which the Roman-catholics have so loudly boasted the introduction into India.

CHAP. III.

Of the MAHOMETAN *religion. How introduced into* INDOSTAN: *relaxation of zeal for* Mahomet: *character of the* KORAN. POPES, *their resemblance to the* KHALIPHS. Mahometans, *their zeal for the unity and reverence of God. Gross conceptions fittest for the palate of the* ARABS *in the time of* Mahomet.

THIS religion was undoubtedly introduced into Indostan, in the usual manner of it, by the sword; though in some countries, more to the eastward, as in the Moluccas, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, &c. it found its way chiefly by the insinuation of its doctrine, perfectly accommodated to the turn of thought, and sensuality of those people. It was however much more rigorously professed in the provinces that now constitute the Mogolistan, when they were under subjection to the Pattans, that Arab colony, which about four hundred years before Tamerlane had penetrated to Dehli, and there founded that empire, from which, after its continuance in a dynasty of thirty-one kings, they were at last radically

cally expelled by Babar-Shaw, a deſcendant from Tamerlane, who finiſhed the conqueſt of India. I have before obſerved, that the Moors grew more relaxed under a ſeries of princes originally indifferent to all religions: but it is alſo true, that even in Arabia itſelf, the country of that founder of this religion, that ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, which at once animated and empowered its profeſſors in the infancy of it to ſpread their conqueſts is greatly declined, and their zeal for making proſelytes almoſt grown obſolete. The Arabs ſeem to have given over all thought of extending their dominion either on a ſpiritual or temporal account, as if their ſtrength and their fanatical frenzy had left them all at once.

As to Mahomet himſelf, there is a faint reverence kept up for his name; which is, however, more more matter of habit than of devotion: neither was their ſuperſtitious regard for him ever puſhed that length which is commonly imagined. That furious zeal of which the firſt Saracen conquerors made ſuch a parade, and ſo ſucceſsfully availed themſelves, had not ſo much a veneration for Mahomet for its object, as the unity of the Supreme Being; in the invocation of which, if they joined the commemoration of his name, it was purely out of gratitude for his being the miſſionary of that unity, and for his deſtroying that idol-worſhip, to which Arabia had continued ſo long under bondage. For the reſt they looked on him as a mere man, ſubject to all the failings and paſſions of one, and ſo far from addreſſing him as a ſaint, that in their moſchs and oriſons, they do not pray to him but for him, recommending him to the divine mercy: nor is there any ſuch thing, as what has been vulgarly believed, of pilgrimages to his tomb: theſe being, in a religious ſenſe, ſolely directed to what is called the Cahabah, or holy-

houſe

houſe at Mecca; which, having long been an idol-temple, was by Mahomet dedicated to the unity of God, and wherein he retained, in complaiſance to the idolaters, the famous black-ſtone, which had been worſhipped by them as repreſenting Akbar their *greateſt* god. The prophet's tomb is at Medina, viſited by the Mahometans, purely out of curioſity and reverence to his memory; but the Indian Moors frequently return without ever ſeeing it at all, though it is ſo near Mecca.

If ſome of their bigots were weak enough to conſider the Koran as an inſpired book, by much the greater number of the Mahometans, giving it all the praiſe they think due to it for its containing their favorite doctrine of the unity, at the ſame time inſiſt, that in other reſpects it is no more than a common performance of which many other Arabians might have been capable, either in point of matter or language. The famous Motazales was the firſt that more openly broached this opinion, and was followed in it not only by great numbers of the Mahometans, but by ſeveral of the Khaliphs themſelves of the race of Mahomet, who even perſecuted to death many who declared for the divine and uncreated eſſence of that book. A book than which ſurely never any thing appeared with more evident marks of impoſture, full as it is of inconſiſtencies, incoherencies, and pitifully abſurd fictions; ſo manifeſtly written from day to day, according to occurences, that ſome of the chapters came out expreſly and adaptedly to the various circumſtances of Mahomet's intereſt or paſſions. Sometimes, in order to regulate the diſtribution of the plunder; at others to quiet the ſcandal he gave, either by taking another man's wife away from him, and that man, even his adopted ſon, or by his commerce with his Egyptian ſlave Mary: not but that there are here and there ſcattered

ſcattered through it ſome excellent paſſages and ſentences of morality, ſet off with the pomp of figure and metaphors, and with the uſual Aſiatic ſwell. Yet moſt of them are mere common-place, and ſuch as may be ſuppoſed to have been penned for him, as he could neither read or write himſelf, by his co-adjutors a Jewiſh Rabbi, and Sergius the Neſtorian monk, known among the Arabs by the name of Baheerah. Upon the leaſt reflection on them then every thing that is worth notice in that extraordinary book ſhrinks to little more than nothing. Even the greateſt zealots for it eſteem the 112th chapter equal in value to a third part of the whole Koran, though containing no more than the following few words, "* *Say God is one God: the "eternal God: he begetteth not; neither is he be-"gotten, and there is not any one like unto him.*"

Having in the preceding chapter mentioned certain apparent points of imitation of the Orientaliſts, in the innovators, or rather defacers of the chriſtian ſyſtem, in favor of that ſtupendous fabric of church-power they have raiſed on its ruins; there appeared to me another point of deſigned conformity, or at leaſt of accidental co-incidence, doubtleſs too obvious to have eſcaped others; though their having taken notice of it may eaſily eſcape me.

It is well known that after Mahomet's death, the ſucceſſion to his power in ſpirituals and temporals devolved to the Khaliphs; and though the popes were of a more ancient inſtitution, they had not riſen to that ſummit of power and dominion, which they afterwards did, until ſome centuries after the eſtabliſhment in form of the Mahometan religion, with the princes of which ſome of them

* Sale's Koran.

kept a correspondence; whilst all of them seem to have copied, and improved on the model of the government of the Khaliphs, at least if the following striking points of resembling may be allowed to warrant such a conjecture.

The title taken by the successors to that pretended prophet was that of Khaliph, or vice-gerent of Mahomet: the popes assumed the modest one of vice-gerent of Jesus Christ. Nor were the Mahometans ever fonder of their tenet of the unity of the god-head in heaven, than the papists of asserting the unity of the pope's vice-god-head on earth.

The Khaliphs, who were originally stiled *commanders of the faithful* in a temporal sense, as being generalissimos of the mussulmen, even on their decline from that power, still retained it in a spiritual one, asserting a supreme jurisdiction and the right of disposing of, and of conferring the investiture of kingdoms and dominions that did not belong to them, on princes of their belief. Have not the popes, in that identical quality of spiritual *commanders of the faithful*, arrogated to themselves the same prerogative?

The Khaliphs had a peculiar ecclesiastical state or district, subjected at once to their spiritual and temporal authority, and of which the town where they kept their court was considered as the metropolis and see of their religion: so had and still have the popes.

This parallel, if needful, might yet be pushed further, to shew that the Romish church, amidst all its insolence and presumption, was mean enough to copy the very originals it affected to despise and condemn; and for want of the talent of invention, was forced to submit even to the heathens and Mahometans for all its principal points of ambition and avarice. Nor were the papists entirely to blame for this recourse of theirs to the

enemy,

enemy, sure as they were to find nothing of that sort to favor their purposes in the scriptures; which it was yet more sacrilegious in them, supplementally to force into their services, by torturing texts, into saying whatever they pleased. Thus, however, they at length succeeded in composing that strange phantom, or rag-doll of their church-authority, which they set up as the queen of nations, and which they never could have compassed, but through the profound ignorance, and its concomitant superstition in which the laity was then immersed, and liable to all the frauds and encroachments of the popes. Yet it seems to be some mitigation of the guilt of those Roman Khaliphs, to suppose, that they could not have conceived so transcendently impudent a scheme as what they carried into execution, if they had not been encouraged to it by some example. That this conformity might be only matter of purely chance, there is no being positive in the negative: but so much is certain, that the Khaliphs were greatly too haughty to borrow any institutions from the popes, on whose side the imitation, if at all, must have been.

All that fanaticism of the Mahometans however, being now pretty well subsided into a more sober common sense, and that not only in India, but even on the spot whence it originally sprung; they grow much less troublesome and tyrannical to the christians, and indeed to all sects who live peaceably under their government; though they are still as rigid as ever, in their not suffering any converts to be made out of their religion into another. Nor can I find, that the Roman missionaries are even fond of aspiring to the crown of martyrdom in attempting it. Their chief quarry is the Gentoos, and even towards them their apostolical zeal is greatly slackened; probably from the jest of it being grown more stale, from being more seen through

by their own laity; besides that, their conversions generally cost them money, which they could not lately so well afford.

The Mahometans seem also to grow the more purely Unitarians, in proportion as their zeal for the mere ceremonial part of their discipline relaxes; nor will they so much as hear with patience any argument against that fundamental point of their religion. At the article of death they invoke no name but that of Allah, God, and generally die with it in their mouths, especially the Tartars; whose distance of country from the local spring-head of that religion, and whose original principles of pure Deism, render them more indifferent to any mention of Mahomet. In fact, most of his sectaries push their veneration for the Supreme Being so far, as not only never to mention God with the least irreverence; but they think it even blasphemous to praise or define a Being, whom they look on as so infinitely above all praise, definition or comprehension. They do not approve even of terming him Good, Righteous, Merciful, or the like; not only for their thinking such epithets just as superfluous, or even impertinent, as if one was emphatically to say of a man that he had a head, legs, arms, or any other members implied by the very name of man, and of whose having them no one could doubt; but as they conceive it is profaning the sacred Majesty of the name of God, to associate it with human attributes or conceptions, and that nothing fills the idea due to that Being so well as the name itself, a substantive singularly and for ever above the company of an adjective.

As to their gross notions of a sensual paradise, the stress they lay upon their ablutions, and their other rites and ceremonies; it can hardly be thought, that so great a genius as Mahomet must have been, was not himself sensible of the absurdity

dity of his imposture in those points: but knowing, as he did, the reach and temper of his countrymen, he most probably adapted his religion to their swallow, and might never have passed it at all, if he had not so let it down to the level of their apprehension, and the coarseness of their palate. But as the particulars of it have been so fully described by numbers of authors, it became superfluous for me to enter into a further discussion of it, than might just serve to shew more expresly the state of it in India, so far as it fell under my observation there, or in my way to get the best accounts of it.

CHAP. IV.

Of the GENTOO *religion. Paradox of their zeal and tolerancy, and how to be accounted for. Their veneration for* COWS: *story on that occasion of* ECBAR-SHAH, *great* MOGUL, *and a* BRAMIN. *Metempsychosis. Tenacious of their points of religion: story of* LOLDASS VITULDASS, *a* BANYAN, *on that occasion. Nicety of civil distinctions: story thereon of a* NAYR *and* THYVEE. *Impracticability of recovering the cast when lost. Story of a* Gentoo *and his wife: fidelity of the* Gentoo *wives, to what owing. Suicide not so common now among the* Gentoos *as formerly: story of one who drowned himself. Account of the* GYMNOSOPHISTS *or* GIOGHYS: *story of one. Trials by ordeal on the* MALABAR *coast: story of an* ENGLISH *lady on that occasion. Distinction of the* Gentoos *into tribes or casts. Account of the* Bramins: *antiquity of their religion: conjectures on the* PAPHIAN VENUS: *a prayer of the* Bramins: *devotions to* JAGGERNAUT. *Conjecture on the pyramidal form of certain idols. An objection*

objection to HERODOTUS *attempted to be solved; as also another to* PLUTARCH *and* JUSTIN. INDIANS *probably initiated by the* EGYPTIANS. *Quotations in favor of the wisdom of the* Indians: *their polytheism resolveable into the unity of God.*

BALDÆUS, and many others, have already given to the public such full accounts of the Gentoo mythology, that they have left me little or nothing to add to them. It is however true, that though the bottom of that religion is every where nearly the same, yet in various parts of that extensive country called Indostan, there are such various modes of opinions and practice built upon it, as would require many volumes to specify the differences. I shall only mention those particulars of it that struck me the most, in which some will perhaps appear either not to have been touched upon, or but transiently by others, as all objects do not affect alike.

NOTHING appeared more paradoxical to me, than the violent tenaciousness of the Gentoos in their religion and customs; and yet at the same time their perfect acquiescence, humanity, and toleration of others who differ from them in those points that are so sacred to them.

THEIR obstinacy, however, may be accounted for physically, from that weak flimzy texture of their bodies chiefly, and especially of the Bramins and Banyans, raised upon rice, vegetables, and water; which, joined to the relaxation from the heat of the climate, softens and effeminates them so, that they are not capable of a strong and manly exertion of their reason, to shake off the yoke of a prejudice once thoroughly imbibed. This constitutional indolence, or *vis inertiæ*, running equally through the temporal and spiritual notions of the Asiatics in general, may also be one of the causes of

of their abject passive resignation to slavery, and submission to that despotism which reigns over all the East.

As to that spirit of toleration in religion, for which the Gentoos are so singularly distinguished, it is doubtless owing to their fundamental tenet of it, of which the purport is; "that the diversity of modes of worship is apparently agreeable to the God of the universe: that all prayers put up to him from man, are all equally acceptable and sanctified to him, by the sincerity of the intention: that the true universal religion is no other than the religion of the heart; that the various outward forms of it are only accessaries indifferent in themselves, and merely accidents of time, place, education or birth; and that therefore all change of religion is at best but a dangerous and needless experiment, since, according to them, every honest man is sure to be saved in his own." Upon this principle, instead of persecuting and burning others for not being of it, or "of compelling them to enter," they will absolutely admit of no proselytes to theirs; and though whole nations have adopted their principal tenets, as the vulgar of the Chinese for example, those of the transmigration of souls, and their idol-worship imported into that country by Fohi, who was in all probability no other than a roving Gioghi; they neither admit of a community, or hold any correspondence with them, and would as soon sit down to eat, or intermarry with christians and Moors, as with their fellow-religionists in China. When any of their religion renounce it, even in the countries where they are masters, they charitably suppose it was through a conscientious persuasion, and never persecute them in any manner, unless by cutting off all communion with them, and expelling them irrecoverably out of the cast or tribe

in which they were born. This they think abundant punifhment, and for any thing elfe content themfelves with only pitying them: many of fuch were, in truth, literally fpeaking, objects of pity, being of the poorer fort, won over in times of famine, by the Romifh priefts, who for that purpofe watched and relieved their neceffities on condition of their converfion. Nor was it always in thofe times, but often wherever they could difcover objects with whofe indigence they could work, that they fucceeded by thefe mercenary means: and this is fo true, as for thofe profelytes to be proverbially known in India, by the appellation of *Chriftianos de Arroz*, or rice-chriftians; which is a further confirmation of what has been before faid, on the head of thofe fo much celebrated converfions.

But nothing more ftrongly exemplifies the tolerating fpirit of the Gentoos, than their conduct with refpect to thofe who differ from them in their treatment of cows, or of that fpecies in general. Their fuperftitious veneration for thefe animals is too well known to infift on here; but by all the difcourfe I have had with Bramins on that head, it appeared very clearly to me, that the fpirit of that law of theirs, which forbids the flaughter of them, is chiefly gratitude; from their arguing againft the cruelty of fuch a retribution, as killing a creature fo ferviceable to mankind, both in agriculture, and in furnifhing fo innocent, and by them efteemed a good diet, as milk, butter and cheefe, relatively to which laft articles they always mention that fpecies in the feminine gender. The lawgiver, probably for a greater enforcement, added the fabulous fiction of the Cow Camdoga; which, however has had fuch an effect, that the Gentoos in general annex a fanctity to every thing that comes from that animal. They purify themfelves
with

with its urine; they burn its excrements into a greyiſh powder, with which they ſprinkle their fore-heads, breaſts and bellies; they alſo, when the dung is recent, make a compoſt of it, with which they ſmear their houſes, pavements, and ſides of them in the ſtyle of a luſtration. In ſhort, ſo exceſſive is their veneration for this animal, that there could hardly a Gentoo be found, that if under a forced option to kill father, mother, or children, or a cow, would not, with ſcarce a heſitation, but prefer ſacrificing any or all of the former: and yet with all this religious horror for the ſlaying theſe creatures, they have no ſort of averſion or ill-will to thoſe who do. They ſcruple neither converſation, nor even friendſhip with thoſe who uſe them for their food; and this purely from their enlarged notions and allowance for the difference of religions. In ſome countries indeed, eſpecially on the Malabar coaſt, immediately under the domination of Gentoos, they do not ſuffer the openly killing of cows, though they will wink hard not to ſee it; and even this moderate reſtriction is not warranted by the tenor of their religion, at leaſt to judge of it by the following ſtory.

Ecbar-Shah, one of the great Moguls, who was great-grandfather to Aurengzeb, and remarkable for that indifference to all religions, for which I have before accounted on the principles of Deiſm, had, it ſeems, a favorite Bramin, to whom he hardly refuſed any thing he could aſk. This Bramin, imagining he could not make a more meritorious uſe of his influence with the Mogul, than to ſollicit a royal edict, forbidding the ſlaughter of cows in the province wherein he was born, requeſted and obtained it. A few days after, the Mogul was ſurpriſed at the Bramin appearing before him with a ſorrowful petitioning face, and entreating him to revoke the edict which had been

been so graciously granted to his sollicitations. Ecbar-shah gratified him in this second request; but was curious in course to know the cause of this change of mind. The Bramin satisfied him by imputing it to a dream, in matter of which the superstition of the Orientialists is too well known to need a commentary here. The dream he alledged was, that in his sleep, he had been beset by a number of those animals, furiously goring and butting at him; when on his expostulating with them on such an ungrateful return for his care of the preservation of their species, one of the herd, speaking for the rest, said as follows; "It is for "that very reason of thy mistaken zeal, that we "thus persecute and shall for ever persecute thee: "thou knowest, that at our dissolution we migrate "into more noble forms, and though thy religion "forbids the forwarding of that end, it does not "forbid thy suffering others to procure us that "advantage which is now by thy means re-"tarded."

It is not however to this horned species alone that this principle of tenderness is confined. Their belief of the Metempsychosis makes them extend it to every animated creature, none being so minute, or of so low a class, but that they think it may be the receptacle of a human soul, consequently of that of their parents, relations or friends. Thence it is, that the difference or size which mechanically, one may say, affects the eye with contempt or regard, and lessens or augments compassion towards an animal in the act of destroying it, has no such effect on them. They cannot without horror think of dispossessing by violence any being of that precious gift of God life, and do not less respect it in the flea that bites them than in the elephant. But this is only to be understood of the Bramins, Banyans, and some other of their stricter

ſtricter tribes, in whom this averſion to bloodſhed does not ſuppoſe a great ſtomach to fighting; nor indeed do they value themſelves upon courage; yet, like the Quakers, they know perfectly well how to eſteem it in thoſe who have it. That a country too ſo tempting to the conqueſt of it from its natural treaſures and deliciouſneſs, might not want for military defenders, which could not be expected from out of thoſe peaceable tribes, the province of war was, according to the Gentoo ſyſtem of religion, left to other diviſions of caſts, eſpecially the Ketterees, out of which their Rajahs, kings, chiefs, and generals are taken, whoſe hereditary profeſſion is that of arms. The Raſhpoots and others are in the like manner warriors born. Such being the men of action and rule among the Gentoos by the conſtitution of their religion, it is the leſs wonder that they run into thoſe injuſtices and violences which generally accompany the ſword. This alſo ſolves that ſeeming paradox, of a religion breathing nothing but humanity, mildneſs and univerſal charity, having produced no better a government; and is one more proof, that no conſideration, human or divine, is ſufficient to ſoften the ferocity, or moderate the oppreſſions of any power that is purely a military one.

There is alſo another point in their religion, which appears as unaccountable as it is ſingular. Tenacious as they are of it, they are yet liable to loſe irrecoverably their right of communion, not only for voluntary breaches or derogations from it, but for even involuntary ones, or for ſuch as one would imagine extream force or neceſſity might juſtify. Certain it is, however, that numbers of them, though in other reſpects cowardly and afraid of death, would ſooner incur it than violate any of thoſe fundamental points, on which depends their right of communion; ſuch, as for example, killing

ing a cow, or tasting of beef, drinking or eating but out of the same vessel with those of another religion, which is a defilement never to be repaired, and many others too tedious to enumerate. They will even, on such occasions, impose on themselves martyrdom, under no circumstance of violence, but of an accidental necessity, rather than forfeit what they call their cast. Thus, when Loldass Vituldass, a considerable Banyan merchant before-mentioned *, was on his passage from Bombay to Surat in an English ship, he having made a provision of water, in vessels of his own under his own seal, such as might serve for that short run, being usually of no more than two or three days, it happened that, through retardment by calms and contrary winds, the same was expended, and he reduced to a condition of perishing with thirst, though there was plenty of water on board, But that being profane as to him, no entreaties could prevail on him to break his law, though his life was in such imminent danger: he felt all the torments so well known to be in thirst, and he would actually have sunk under it, if a favorable breeze springing up, had not brought him to Gundavee, just near Surat, but so faint as to have his soul, as they say, between his lips.

This delicacy of religion does not only subsist among the Gentoos, in respect to those of other religions, but between the different degrees and denominations of tribes of their own religion, who never eat, or intermarry, with one another under the same penalty. In some parts this nicety extends even to civil distinctions; as on the coast of Malabar, where it is made capital for a Nayr, or noble of that country, to approach so near an in-

* See p. 161.

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ferior caſt, as to receive a wound that ſhould draw blood from him. It is not many years ſince, that near Penany, the reſidence of the Samorine of Calicut, an extraordinary accident of this nature happened. A Nayr happened to have a ſort of ſtruggle with a Thyvee, or land-tiller, when, as in half jeſt, half earneſt, they grappled each other, the Thyvee's ſickle by chance wounded the Nayr, who no ſooner ſaw his own blood, than he looſed his hold, and entreated the Thyvee to make off as ſoon as poſſible, and to keep the accident a ſecret for both their ſakes. It happening however to take air, the Nayrs aſſembled upon it, and one of the elders getting up and expoſing the caſe, they inſtantly fell on the poor Nayr, and hacking him to death with their ſabres, ſerved him as it is ſaid of the porpoiſes, when one of their ſpecies is wounded, whom the reſt, whilſt he is bleeding, inſtantly tear to pieces: after which, and groaning over him, they proceeded, by way of revenge for this ſacrifice, to which they had been thus compelled by their law, to the exterminating the whole tribe of the Thyvees, in the village of which the author of the miſchief was inhabitant. Yet even in this they ſhewed, that in the midſt of their wild ſuperſtition they could remember equity; as they were well informed how the thing had paſſed, care had been taken to pre-adviſe the Thyvees of what was intended, that they might timely ſave themſelves, till the day particularly ſet for the maſſacre was over, after which it is not lawful for them to revive the procedure; ſo that when the ſtorm was over, they might without danger return to their habitations. However, if a woman in that country lies with one of an inferior caſt, they do not indeed put her to death, but as being *ipſo facto* degraded, ſhe is ſeized and ſold for a ſlave.

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As to the impracticability of a re-admission into the Gentoo-cast, when once, whether wilfully or involuntarily forfeited, I never heard of an exception being allowed; unless the following story may pass for one, which strongly but justly characterises the rigorousness of the Gentoos on that head.

One of them, a man of substance, residing on the banks of the Ganges, had a wife of great beauty, with whom he lived happy in the utmost reciprocal affection. One morning early, as she went, in the simplicity of their manner of life, to fill a water-vessel at the river, a Mogul nobleman chancing to pass by, was so struck with her at the first sight, that, yielding to the impetuosity of his passion, he spurred up his horse to her, seized her, and laying her a-cross his saddle-bow, rode off with her, regardless of her cries, and over-powering her struggles. Whether she was alone or accompanied, no one it seems could inform her unfortunate spouse, who was the ravisher, that he might have implored justice against a violence, certainly not tolerated under the Mogul government; or of what road he had taken, that by his perquisitions he might find her out and reclaim her. In this dilemma, life being grown odious to the inconsoleable husband, he quitted his habitation, and turned wandering Gioghi, with a double intention of humoring his melancholic turn to solitude, and of searching the whole country for her. But whilst he was thus employed, the Mogul nobleman had accomplished his brutal purpose, and though at first very cautious of allowing her the least liberty, for fear of a discovery, on having two children by her, grew relaxed in that point, even more than the Mahometans commonly are, thinking perhaps to gain her heart by that indulgence, customary among the Gentoos. After two years, her husband, now a Gioghi, came by chance to a gar-

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den-door, at which she was standing, and begged alms of her. It is not said whether he knew her or not, but at the first sight, and sound of his voice, she knew him, though in a plight so fit to disguise him. Then it was, that in a rapture of joy she welcomed him, and related to him all her adventures, and the innocence of her heart in all she had suffered, concluding with her detestation of her present condition, and an offer of immediately making her escape, and returning to his bosom. To this the Gentoo made no other answer or objection, but to represent to her the inviolable rule of their religion in such a case, which did not admit of his receiving her again as his wife, or having any communication with her. However, after joining in the bewailment of the cruelty of their separation, and of the law that prohibited that reunion, for which they both ardently sighed, and after abundance of consultation, about what measures could be taken, it was agreed between them, that the husband should instantly repair to the great temple of Jaggernaut, near the sea-side, in the kingdom of Orixa, near the mouth of the Ganges, there to consult the high priest and his chief assistants, whether any thing could be done to restore her at least to her religion. Accordingly he went, and returned to her with such a countenance as prepared her for the worst. He then told her, that he came to bid her an eternal adieu, for that the taking off the excommunication she had innocently incurred, could not be effectuated but on such conditions, as he could neither expect, or advise her to comply with. They were these; that she should destroy the children she had by her ravisher, so as to leave no living monuments of her pollution by his profane embraces, then fly with her husband to the temple of Jaggernaut, and there have melted lead poured down her throat,

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by which means only ſhe might be admitted to die in her caſt if ſhe could not live in it. The wife on hearing theſe terms accepted them, hard as they were, notwithſtanding all the tendereſt diſſuaſions on the man's part. Urged by the manifold incentives of zeal for her religion, love for her huſband, and a hatred for her raviſher, that made her ſee in thoſe children of hers nothing but his part in them, all conſpiring to ſteel her heart againſt the motions of nature, ſhe perpetrated the firſt part of the injunction, and found means to eſcape undiſcovered with her huſband, who durſt not even renew with her the privilege of one, as her perſon ſtill remained polluted, and unapproachable by him under the penalty of a mortal ſin, and of falling into the ſame predicament in which ſhe ſtood. Arrived at the temple, ſhe preſented herſelf with the utmoſt conſtancy and intrepidity to the prieſts, of whom ſhe demanded the fulfilment of the reſt of her ſentence. After a ſequeſtration of a few days and other preparatory ceremonies, ſhe was led to the appointed place of execution in the area before the temple, where, in the preſence of an innumerable concourſe of people, ſhe appeared without the leaſt ſymptom of fear at the dreadful ſolemnity and apparatus of the fire, and inſtruments of her ſuffering. After a ſhort prayer ſhe was blind-folded, and extended on the ground, with her mouth open ready to receive her death in the melted lead. Inſtead of which, ſome cold water prepared for that purpoſe was poured into it, and ſhe was bid to get up, and then aſſured, that the ſincerity of her intention having been thus proved, was accepted by the Deity, and that ſhe was thenceforward at liberty to live with her huſband as before, being now re-inſtated in all her rights divine and ſocial.

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Whether this ſtory be true or falſe, it is certain, that it contains nothing but what the law of the Gentoos renders probable; and as certain, that the article of it annexing an expulſion from their communion to any violation of the conjugal faith, more eſpecially with thoſe of another religion, or with any of an inferior tribe (for it ſeems the ſin, though ſtill a mortal one, is not ſo great if committed with thoſe of their own caſt) keeps an effectual check on the wives, and makes it ſo hard for the Europeans to avail themſelves of that liberty they ſee the Gentoo women enjoy. I know that ſome indeed have boaſted of their ſucceſſes in gallantry among them; but I have ſtrong reaſons to think they are much rarer than has been ſaid, or at leaſt were chiefly among the very loweſt tribes, who are not ſo ſcrupulous, and with whom money might prevail. In ſhort, the wives of the principal Gentoos, with all their apparent freedom of ſhewing themſelves, are, by their never going abroad unleſs accompanied, and by their ſuperſtition, as effectually defended from the approaches of ſtrangers, as thoſe of the Moors are by their walls, bars, lettice-windows, and impenetrable veils.

Another reaſon for their prodigious affection and veneration for their huſbands, is their early marriage. A father is reckoned inhuman and careleſs of his childrens happineſs, if he does not make the earlieſt proviſion for having them ſuitably matched: therefore they marry them at the age of three, four, or five years, ſometimes younger, and often run into ruinous expences in the celebration of that ceremony: after which the parties, in the tenderneſs of that ductile age, are brought up until that of conſummation, in the

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constant inculcation to them of mutual dearness, as a sacred point of religion. The women especially retain such strong impressions of this doctrine, that notwithstanding the influence of a climate far from favorable to chastity, instances of infidelity are at least as rare among them, as in any people of the world besides. Thence too the readiness of numbers of them to embrace that cruel practice of burning themselves with their husbands, or in due season after his death. Some of them living under governments where that superstition was not suffered, have voluntarily gone to Gentoo countries barely to enjoy the liberty of that act. Others, after bringing up their children to a state of maturity, which seems an allowable reason of dispensation with them, and many years after the death of their husbands, have, as if they had endured life only till that duty to their children was fulfilled, paid that one to their deceased husbands, of seeking to rejoin them, by burning themselves with the usual ceremony. Some indeed, who had not the courage either to undergo that fate, or the patience to brook the indignities and slights that fall upon those who decline it, and which form a kind of compulsion to it, though they call it matter of choice, such as cutting off their hair, which to them is the most intolerable of all pains, servile offices, and wearing a particular colored garment, of a dingy red, will, especially if they meet with encouragement, turn Christians, or Moors. It must not however be understood, that this practice of voluntary burning is very general. Many of the tribes, especially of the lower ones, are totally exempted from it, and it is only with respect to the more considerable personages that it is ever used, and even among

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them, the inſtances begin to be much rarer, and that point to be leſs inſiſted on *.

THE examples of that cool philoſophical ſuicide, for which the Indians are by the ancients ſo much celebrated, as being matter even of common cuſtom among them, are grown extremely rare. I could not, whilſt I was in India, hear of one that had reſorted to that extremity, except a merchant of Surat, who, many years before my time, had ordered himſelf to be carried, faſtened on a bed, the bottom of whoſe corner poſts were provided with a weight to ſink it, into the river Tappy, on men's ſhoulders, who had their cue to let him gently down into the ſtream, as ſoon as he had finiſhed his own funeral harangue to a croud of people, among whom were his ſons and relations, of which he acquitted himſelf with great compoſure and even eloquence. He had however no motive for this ſpontaneous departure out of life, but that ſort of philoſophy once ſo prevalent in thoſe parts, and for which the Gymnoſophiſt Calanus made himſelf

* Mr. Eyre, brother to that truly worthy and amiable gentleman who periſhed among the other unfortunate perſons in the black-hole at Calcutta, as will be hereafter particularly mentioned, was chief at Patna ſome few years ago, when a Gentoo woman underwent this ceremony of ſacrificing herſelf to the memory of her huſband, who had been a man of ſome conſideration, and the woman was perſonally known to Mr. Eyre. The place appointed for the ceremony was cloſe to the walls of the Engliſh factory, and when the woman approached, Mr. Eyre advanced up to her, adviſed her to deſiſt from her fatal purpoſe, and offered her protection in the factory; which ſhe refuſed, and perſiſted in her deſign, alledging, that ſhe had already undergone that ceremony four times, that this was the laſt, and then ſhe ſhould attain a ſtate of eternal happineſs. The ceremony was awfully performed, and ſhe periſhed in the flames with the conſtancy of a chriſtian martyr.

ſelf be ſo much admired by Alexander and his whole army.

These Gymnoſophiſts were undoubtedly not Bramins, as has been erroneouſly advanced by many authors; but of that ſect of men now called Gioghys; which, like other human inſtitutions, have been at length vitiated by abuſes, hypocriſy, and the admiſſion of corrupt members. Their original regulation turns upon a renunciation of the world, a hermitical or itinerant life, violent aſcetics, and that ſtark-nakedneſs from whence they derived their Greek name. At preſent, indeed, when they occaſionally travel into Chriſtian or Mooriſh juriſdictions, they diſpenſe with this laſt precept, and wear, out of deference to their cuſtoms, a ſcant rag that ſcarce covers their parts, to which their own opinions annex no idea of ſhame or turpitude. As to the ſelf-martyrizing poſtures, and other cruelties they impoſe on themſelves, they do not mean by theſe to inſinuate, that any torments of the creature can be acceptable to its Creator, but purely for the ſake of the merit they apprehend in the intenſeneſs and conſtancy of their ſpiritual contemplation of the Deity; being ſuch as enables them to maſter their attention ſo far, as to call it off from the feelings that pain their bodies, and to fix it unremoveably on the only idea they think can worthily fill their minds. It is alſo in the ſenſe and character of contemplatiſts, abſorbed in this ſingle object, that they prove what is perhaps harder to attain to, their inſenſibility to pleaſure. Thus ſome of them will ſit on a pedeſtal, by the ſide of the tanks or ponds where the Gentoo women perform their ablutions, whom they ſuffer to ſalute with the utmoſt reverence and ſimplicity, the living Priapus they exhibit for that purpoſe, whilſt their eyes roll frightfully in their heads, and no ſymptom or geſture of theirs betrays the leaſt

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indication of human feeling, sensual emotion, or attention to the sight or touch of these females, who imagine there is great prolific virtue in this strange act of adoration. These Gioghys also generally have that part bored, with a smooth soldered ring passed through it, as an attestation of the impracticability for them of incontinence. But though I am well persuaded, that vanity and spiritual pride enter for a great deal into all these their self-tortures, austerities and self-denials; yet it is hard to think that all of them are equally suspectable. There is also reason to believe, that some of this sect have made very valuable discoveries, especially in Botany, from the opportunities of their roving life, through wilds, forests, and among the mountains where they ofteneſt shelter, being absolutely forbid to lie in houses, or under any built cover, unless occasionally the open porches of their pagodas. The Gentoos however, to whom the abuses of this profession are perfectly known, and to whom their impostures are grown stale enough to put them on their guard, retain the highest veneration and awe towards such of them as they have reason to think are sincere in the exercise of it: they pretend even to produce, in their excuse for this branch of their bigotry, some miracles recent within the memory of man. To this purpose, they relate an event, of which they will have it there are now living witnesses, and which may serve at least to expose their credulity, though one cannot help at the same time doing justice to their talent of invention. One of these Gioghys, as the story goes, came to a large inland town, in Ashmeer, and going directly to the governor of it, a Gentoo, presented to him a bill of exchange, drawn payable to the bearer by the god Ram, for 2000 rupees, or about 250 l. sterling; at which the governor pro-

tested with a laugh at him as an impostor. The Gioghy then went round the town, and was every where received with the same kind of scoff, except by a rich oilman, who very devoutly accepted it, and paid the amount: upon which, returning him a blessing in behalf of the God, whose draught he had thus honored, the Gioghy left him and the town, but not without fulminating as he passed the gates, a curse of leprosy to continue twelve years upon all the inhabitants except the oilman and his family, which instantly took effect. And so popularly was this story propagated, that it was brought to Bombay some years ago by a Banyan, who declared, that he had himself seen a son of the deputy, or assistant-governor of the town, who was a leper from that malediction, but the symptoms of whose distemper were greatly mitigated by his being then in the twelfth or expiring year of the term assigned. The Gentoos are not content with occasional fiction or forgery of miracles from time to time, but insist on the existence of a constant and standing one in their trials by ordeals, of melted lead or boiling oil, such as they are now actually in use on the Malabar-coast. So much however is certain, that these ordeals are not in the least managed by any priestcraft, unless it could be supposed combined with the whole governing laity, against the interest of justice, and their own, having been for ages practised as the criterions of innocence, through the various provinces on that coast. I never saw one of these trials myself, but believe that numbers of eye-witnesses to them are now in England, who can better ascertain the nature and manner of them than I dare pretend to do. It has however been assured to me, that several of the English chiefs of settlements on that coast, have used their utmost care and precaution to detect whatever fraud might be in this method of

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trial; that they have caused the party that was to undergo it, not only to be locked up in their own guard-room, or prison, but seen the hand that was to be plunged into the boiling lead or oil, bound up with a handkerchief closely tied round the wrist, and sealed with their own seals, which remained unbroke till the instant of the public ceremony of it. Notwithstanding all which precaution, and every other that the most determined incredulity and suspicion of fraud could devise, they could never discover that there was any trick or juggle in it; to say nothing of the improbability of so many princes of different and discordant dominions, for so many ages, joining in a cheat of no sort of use but to skreen obnoxious criminals, and to baffle that justice, by which alone any government can subsist. Some unable to deny the fact itself, have endeavored to account naturally for it, by averring, that neither water, oil, or lead, when boiling, can effect a hand dipped into it, so as to burn it. If this were true, the whole of this pretended miracle of the Gentoos would fall at once to the ground, and the miracle would be that it could ever pass for one. An English lady however could have contradicted this from her own experience: for at Tellicherry, where she then resided, and where scandal had not entirely respected her, happening to be present at one of these ordeal-trials, where an Indian culprit drew his hand unharmed out of a cauldron of melted lead, she said, she was sure it was all a jest, and that it could not burn; but on putting her finger in to prove it, skreamed out with the pain. "That trial (said the then governor Adams humorously) I suppose, madam, was for your virtue."

The ceremony is however performed with great solemnity. The party to be tried, on appeal to it for his innocence, whether on suspicion of murder,

theft, conjugal infidelity in the women, in ſhort of any crime, or even in civil caſes, on denying a debt, is brought in public, to the ſide of the fire, on which is ſet a cauldron or ladle full of boiling water or oil, but moſt commonly lead; the prince or magiſtrates of the country aſſiſting. His hand is previouſly clean waſhed, and an ola, or leaf of the wild brab-tree, with the matter of the accuſation written on it, and girt round his waiſt, when, on a ſolemn invocation of the Deity by a Bramin, the culprit plunges his hand in, ſcoops up the boiling fluid, and if he draws it out unhurt, is abſolved; otherwiſe he receives the puniſhment preſcribed by the laws for the crime on which the accuſation lay. And ſo ſacred and firmly believed in general on that coaſt is this method of purgation, that I have been aſſured, that even ſome of the Indian Chriſtians and Moors have voluntarily ſubmitted their cauſe to its deciſion on their own perſonal experiment.

As the princes of thoſe countries, where this cuſtom ſtands at this day in full force, uſe no ſort of reſerve, or refuſe any examination that might be required, certain it is, that on the leaſt intimation from any perſon of authority here, to any of the Engliſh gentlemen on that coaſt, ſuch an enquiry would be very readily ſet on foot, as would ſatisfactorily liquidate what truth or falſehood there is in this practice; and ſurely even the Royal Society has vouchſafed to take cognizance of points of not ſuperior importance or curioſity to this. The iſſue muſt be, ſince the fact is inconteſtably true, either to diſcover a natural method of reſiſting fire, far more ſubtle than what is known to our European jugglers; or to prove, that Divine Providence, when ſolemnly appealed to, does not diſdain its immediate interpoſition in favor of innocence, an act which, though ſurely not unwor-

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thy of the goodneſs of God, the Romiſh prieſts in thoſe parts, not denying the ſupernaturalneſs of the effect produced, attribute to the power and craft of the devil; with what propriety let any one judge.

The diſtinction of the Gentoos into their tribes or caſts, forms another conſiderable object of their religion, which has its conveniencies and inconveniencies. Prieſts, warriors, merchants, huſbandmen, and in ſhort all the diviſions of mechanics and artificers known among them, are each claſſed in their reſpective tribes; and though all under the bond of the ſame religion, neither eat, drink, or intermarry with one another, ſo that a goldſmith for example, cannot marry his child to a druggiſt's. All muſt be born in the profeſſion they exerciſe: no tranſition or mixture is allowed: by which contractedneſs of diſpoſition great injuſtice is often done to talents and genius, to which no reſpect is had, or allowance made for their infinite diverſity. Thus ſome are confined to make an indifferent figure in one ſphere or way of life, who would have ſhined in another: yet ſuch juſtly ſuppoſeable inſtances excepted, this diſtribution has in general the advantage of order on its ſide, and the power of the prejudice of education in favor of cuſtom, diminiſhes and even annihilates the ſenſe of the injury thereby done to a few. Moſt of the tribes too have each, under every government, a particular perſon who is reckoned the chief of it, and is in ſome meaſure accountable for the conduct of the individuals of it; which alſo makes it the eaſier to eſtimate, number, or aſſemble them reſpectively on any neceſſary occaſion. But though one would imagine that moſt profeſſions, and manual arts eſpecially, thus for ages hereditarily tranſmitted, would proceed from father to ſon, to the utmoſt perfection, it does not appear that this conſe-

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quence follows in effect: for, by all tradition and accounts, they ſtick pretty near at the ſame point they were at many ages ago; whether emulation has been rather deadened than excited by this confinement to the vocation of birth; or whether, what is the moſt likely, the people of thoſe ſoft climates want that ſolidity, application and curioſity, neceſſary to carry them beyond a certain pitch, to ſay nothing of the diſcouragement for ever exiſting under deſpotic government, from the precariouſneſs of property.

The Bramins or Butths, as they are often called from the idols which all have that name; if theſe did not take it from them, vindicate pre-eminence of rank and eſteem from their appropriate functions in divine worſhip. There are ſome of them, however, often employed in purely civil matters without derogation to their character. They have a learned language peculiar to themſelves called the Hanſcrit, in which the Vedham, Shaſter, and other of the books of their law are written. As to thoſe who ſtick purely to the duties of their office, the ſimplicity of their lives anſwers to that of their diet, into which they admit of no animal food, and which one would think had its influence on their minds as well as bodies, being generally free from the violenter paſſions and vices, in which the cold one of avarice is certainly not included; for in this, thoſe of them, at leaſt, who enter into temporal affairs, vye with any other condition of men. With reſpect to their conſtitution they are generally healthy, though not ſtrong bodied. Their ſenſes of ſmell and taſte are exquiſite, which they doubtleſs owe to their abſtinence from fleſh. Thus flowers produce to them a much ſtronger odor than the ſame ſort would to Europeans; and they are as nice in the taſte of different waters, as

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we are in that of wines, and make as great a point of luxury in the choice of them. It is alſo obſerved, that the wounds of thoſe uſed to a vegetable diet, are much ſooner and eaſier cured than thoſe of ſuch as eat fleſh, from the greater groſſneſs of humors bred in theſe laſt by that food. The Bramins are likewiſe ſaid to poſſeſs many valuable ſecrets in natural philoſophy, acquired by their ſtudious and contemplative turn, and which if not brought to Europe, is not ſo much owing to any uncommunicativeneſs of theirs, as to the want of curioſity and inquiſitiveneſs in the Europeans, who ſeldom travel to thoſe parts in ſearch of knowledge, and are too much engroſſed by their purſuits of fortune, to give ſufficient attention, or employ ſufficient means to come at ſuch diſcoveries.

Upon the whole, whoever will combine all the abſurdities of their mythology, their incarnations of Viſtnow, the exploits of the ape Singa, the wars of their god Ram, the virtues of their cow Camdoga, and the reſt of their ridiculous fables, with that exquiſite morality, practical and ſpeculative, that may be collected from what they collaterally teach, muſt own, that the human mind is capable of uniting in it the greateſt ſeeming incompatibilities.

Yet it muſt be owned that their religion, all groſs as it is, does not exclude the idea among them of the God of the Univerſe, as it evidently turns upon deities merely local, and proper to India, which even their own doctrines ſubordinates to a certain ſuperior and more extenſive power. For as to Brama, he is never underſtood by them, but as the ſupreme God, the Jupiter Indiges of ſpecifically their country.

That their religion is one of the ancienteſt in the world there are many reaſons to think. Nothing

thing of ſo remote an original being to be leſs ſuſpected of borrowing from others, eſpecially in a people who have ever made it a ſacred point to follow their own peculiar inſtitutions, without deigning to admit of any foreign admixture. It is then highly probable, that the doctrine of the Metempſychoſis, which ſo particularly diſtinguiſhed Pythagoras, was derived from them, with many other articles and modes of worſhip, and opinion, which from certain reſemblances might be eveſtigated from the ſame ſpring-head. Thus, among many other conjectural inſtances, may be quoted the image of the Paphian Venus, for the form of which Tacitus could not account *, not being in any thing reſembling the human one, but orbicularly riſing from a broad baſis, and in the nature of a race-goal, tapering to a narrow convex a-top; which is exactly the figure of the idol in India, conſecrated to ſuch an office as that heathen deity was ſuppoſed to preſide over, and to which, on the borders eſpecially of the Ganges, the Gentoo virgins are brought to undergo a kind of ſuperficial defloration, before they are delivered up to their huſbands. At the firſt view indeed one would imagine that this Indian effigy was, eſpecially from this application of it, meant for a kind of repreſentation of a Phallus, or Ithyphallus; but beſides that, the form is too imperfect and remote an imitation; beſides that, the Indians make no ſcruple of expreſſing clearly the parts of generation in both ſexes, joined together, in an image of them, they call Quivclinga, which they

* Simulacrum Deæ non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum, metæ modo, exſurgens. Et ratio in obſcuro. Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. II.
Albæ Pyramidi haud diſſimilem dixeris.
Tyrius Maximus.

wear

wear about their perſons, or hang about their necks, as an amulet; beſides alſo, that they have pagodas appropriately dedicated to Priapus, under the name of Gopalſami; this pyramidal ſtone may be plainly traced to its original; that idol, which in the ſame but a larger form is worſhipped by the Gentoos under the name of Jaggernaut, which, according to all accounts, and to captain Hamilton's eſpecially, is no other than a pyramidal black ſtone, fabled to have fallen from heaven, or at leaſt to have miraculouſly preſented itſelf on that place, where ſtands his temple before-mentioned. Now, according to the beſt information I could obtain from the Gentoos, this ſtone, of which all the images in that form in India are eſteemed but copies, is meant for the power preſiding over univerſal generation, which they attribute to the genial heat and influence of the ſun acting under ſubordination to it; and to whom the following formulary or prayer is addreſſed, and often repeated in a day by the Bramins eſpecially, with their eyes towards the ſun. "*Thou Power! " which illuminates that reſplendent Orb, deign alſo " to illuminate my mind, ſo as that I may thereby be " directed to walk in the way the moſt pleaſing to " thee.*" Now conſidering the dignity attached in the idea of the Gentoos to the generative power, it is no derogation to the ſupremacy attributed to Jaggernaut, manifeſted by their making his temple and image the head place of their worſhip, to infer that he is their god Bramin under that title, juſt as Jupiter had ſeveral names, according to his various functions, and equivalent to the Mythras or Venus Urania of the Perſians, or ſimply the Venus of the heathens. That the Deity, however repreſented by ſpecifically that image and under that name, was held to preſide over the genial fire, is plainly proved, by the ceremonies with which

which at a certain time of the year they perform their worſhip to it, eſpecially on the banks of the Ganges. For the Gentoo inhabitants there form domeſtic idols after that of Jaggernaut, to which they give its name, and which are niched in a conveyance that is to ſerve them for a triumphal car, all together decorated with gilding and tinſel. Formerly it uſed to be ſo with jewels and expenſive finery, according to the circumſtances of the owner, but of late they have much abated on that point. This machine is kept for ſome days in the beſt apartment of their houſe, during which time it is matter of devotion with them to exhibit all the obſceneſt poſtures, and to act all manner of laſciviouſneſs in ſight, as it were, of the idol, and as the moſt acceptable mode of worſhip to that deity it repreſents. After which they carry it in its gilded car proceſſionally to the Ganges, and throw all in together, as an acknowledgment to that river of its congenial fertilization with that of the ſun. Their reaſon too for relaxing in their expence on this head was, their finding that the Chriſtians and Moors, watching the places where they were committed to the ſtream, made a practice of diving for the jewels or valuables with which they uſed to be adorned, and by this means gained what to the Gentoos ſeemed a ſacrilegious booty at their expence.

As to the cauſe of the Gentoos predilection of this pyramidal form, it ſeems loſt in the remoteſt antiquity. But if I might be allowed to hazard a conjecture, it ſhould be, that it was originally ſuggeſted to them by that pyramidal aſpiration of flame, which is one of the moſt conſpicuous properties of fire.

If the above is not ſufficient to eſtabliſh the conjecture of the Paphian effigy of Venus, being originally derivable from the form of this Indian deity,

deity, perhaps the following account may serve at least to corroborate it, and into which I enter purely, as I think it may throw some illustration on a dark point of antiquity, which has perplexed so many authors, and relatively to which some of the antients will probably appear to have been unjustly condemned.

The learned and laborious Dr. Hyde has particularly taken Herodotus to task for saying, that * Venus was the Persian Mythras, Myhir, or in plainer English the sun: but in this point not a little may be said to justify and reconcile him to historical truth.

As to the objection of the nominal difference of sexes, in Mithras and Venus, that is solved by the plain matter of fact of the Parsees not admitting any such distinction of genders, in those spiritual beings, which they esteemed as provincial super-intendants, or agents, and which the heathens dignified by the title of Gods.

That the Sun and Venus were by the Persians, considered as one and the same divinity appointed to preside over universal generation, may be inferred without much violence from many points of fact.

Mythras the Sun, or Myhir, in the primitive Persian language, signified Love; and the Sun being deemed the genial inspirer of it, has that quality evidently in common with the Venus of the Heathens.

Venus was imaged in that conic form, mentioned both by Tacitus, in his relation of the first

* Cur autem Herodotus addit eam (sc. Veneram Uranam) Persis Mythram plane nescio: nam cum eo nomine semper significatur Sol, quamnam erroris ansam arripuerit nescio. Hyde. De. Rel. Vet. Pers. Page 99.

Vespasian's

Veſpaſian's viſit to her temple in Paphos, and by Tyrius Maximus.

Mythras, or the Sun, was alſo preciſely imaged in the ſame form, that is to ſay, of a conic ſtone, in Cœlo-Syria, and among the * Emiſſenians, and from its ſhape took the name of the Round-God, or Agli-Baal, whence the emperor Heliogabalus, who had been a prieſt in the temple of it, derived his appellation, and in the ſenſe of this Mythras being the ſame as Venus, he was doubtleſs no improper miniſter of that diſſolute deity.

From this conformity of offices, attributes and form, it is no wonder that Mythras and Venus, called by the Aſſyrians Mylitta, or Mauledta, the parent of all things, might be deemed one and the ſame preſiding Power, and as ſuch reported by Herodotus. It is alſo in reſpect to the above conformity, that his cotemporary Artaxerxes Mnemon, did not make quite ſo violent or ſtrange an innovation, as Dr. Hyde ſeems to imagine it, in introducing the ſtatue of Venus in an human form, being then nothing more than another mode of repreſenting Mythras, or Myhir, of whom the adoration, never however more than reverential, and ſuch as was uſed towards their great men, was before ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed. This conſtruction too if received, though offered only as a conjecture for want of a better, would abſolve Juſtin, and reconcile the difference between him and Plutarch; the former placing Aſpaſia, the concubine of Artaxerxes, at the head of the prieſteſſes of the Sun; the latter of thoſe of Venus. Both then, in this caſe, might be right.

* Solem ſub forma ſaxi ab imo rotundi et conici apud Emiſſenos cultum fuiſſe quod et a cœlo delapſum fuiſſe Jactabant Teſtatur Herodiannus. Hyde, p. 115.

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The resemblance, however, above set forth of the image of the Paphian Venus, and of the Persian Mythras, to that of Jaggernaut in India, is entirely submitted to the reader, for his judging of the degree of probability of their being imitations of the latter: but I cannot omit another corroborative circumstance of the progression from the East to the West, of that Indian symbol, pervading so great an extent of continent.

This pyramidal stone or image of Jaggernaut was said to have come miraculously from heaven. The same was pretended of the effigy of the sun, in the same form, among the Emyssenians. Nay even the Greeks, with their usual fondness for the marvellous, a quality which is specifically the loadstone of lies, adopted a fiction of much the same, though rather of even a grosser nature. Anaxagoras, one of their not least considerable philosophers, imagined that the Sun itself was a large roundish red-hot stone, and according to Pliny the elder (book I. chap. 58.) foretold the very day on which a fragment of it would fall in that part of Thracia near the river Ægos, "which (says that author "very gravely) came to pass accordingly, and the "stone, of the bigness of a common cart, and of "an adust color, is *now* extant, and to this day to "be seen there." So credulous, and at the same time so imitative a creature is man, that even his fictions are seldom purely original.

That these pyramidal and conic forms were, from the antientest times, the select ones of the Gentoos, for the most sacred of their images is certain: but whether they were imitated by other nations; whether the pyramids and obelisks of Egypt, the form of which is at this time actually among the ornaments of our gardens and vistos, were brought thither and improved on by the Egyptian Osyris, together with many other articles;

ſuch as the tranſmigration of ſouls, the diviſion of the week into ſeven days, under the influence of the ſeven planets, the names of ſome of which are retained to this day in the Engliſh ſtyle or kalender, or the diſtribution of the Zodiac into ſigns, the uſe of incenſe, all which points are ſtrongly claimed by the Bramins of India; it is hard, at this ſo remote diſtance of time, to decide on merely certain points of conformity, and as hard to think thoſe points were all purely accidental.

But to avoid any ſuſpicion of my leaning to that common weak ſide of travellers, finding a kind of ſatisfaction to their vanity in over-rating the countries where they have been, as if themſelves were to come in for a ſhare of their diſtinction, I beg leave to remind the reader, that I have not exaggerated the wiſdom and learning of the Bramins beyond what their general reputation will ſtrictly bear me out, and eſpecially that in which they ſtood with the Perſians, who, as their neighbors, may be ſuppoſed to have known them beſt. Towards which I need but ſelect two quotations, and both furniſhed by Dr. Hyde; for which I ſhall perhaps be thought the more excuſeable, as that even their being in ſome meaſure foreign to his ſubject did not hinder him from introducing them.

The firſt from Ammianus Marcellinus.——

"That moſt wiſe prince Hyſtaſpes, the father of "Darius, who ventured to penetrate into the interior of India, in a private character, came at "length to a ſhady receſs emboſomed in woods, "where the Bramins exercifed their ſublime faculties in the tranquil cultivation of the ſciences. "There he learnt from them the abſtruſeſt reaſons of things. They accounted to him for the "motions of this ſublunary world, the planets, "and the whole ſtarry hoſt. They taught him

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"the purest forms of worship: and when he had "collected as much knowledge as he could for "the time, at his return he communicated as "much of it to the magi, or priests of Persia, as "he thought proper. Hence it plainly appears, "that he drew the rudiments of his erudition from "the Indian sages *."

The second is from an oriental author. "Persuya, head-physician to the king Nashirwàn "(who was cotemporary to the emperor Justinian) "brought for him a book, entitled, The wisdom "of the Indians, or a dialogue between Kalil and "Dumnee †, or the crowned head and the enquirer. This he translated into Persian, and "deserved by his work eternal reputation among "that people. The king too looked on it as so "great a merit, that he ordered Boorzumgheer, "his first counsellor, to write the life of Persuya "from his infancy, to the age of which he then "was. And this was done."

Even the Mahometans themselves pay a profound respect to the learning of the Bramins, and would not be so averse to the Gentoos as they seem but for that Polytheism of theirs, which makes them admit of such innumerable gods; especially

* Hystaspes reigned A. Mundi 3484, or 519 years before our Savior's time.

† This book is in the catalogue (page 19) appendixed by Mr. Frazer, to his history of Shah Nadir, under the various titles of Ayar Danish, the criterion of wisdom; and a moderner edition under that of Anhar Soheili, the flowers of Soheili, and of Kalil Dumnee. He observes, that the king Nashirwan the Just made it his guide, not only in affairs relating to government, but also in private life. Sultan Mahmud Ghazi put it into verse. (Frazer, app. page 19.) I never heard that this book was translated into Latin or into any European language. Every one knows that the Indian Lockman was generally believed to be the original of the Grecian Esop.

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in ſome parts of India; as for example, on the Malabar-coaſt, as far as three hundred and thirty three millions; though they conſider this only as a conſequence, in courſe of their departure from the unity of the deity, after which there appears to them no end, or knowing where to ſtop. Yet after all, if theſe gods of the Gentoos were to be candidly ſcanned and liquidated, it might fairly come out that they were conſidered even by them as no more than a kind of ſecondary beings, or local ſuperintendants and miniſters, ſubordinate to one ſupreme God, and thus would the whole legions of them ultimately center in unity. At leaſt I can ſafely aver, that ſo it appeared to me from the anſwers of the Bramins, being far from contradictory to that interpretation, when I preſſed them on that point.

CHAP. V.

Of the religion of the PARSEES. *Diviſion of the religion of the* Parſees *into two ſtates, ancient and modern. Introductory mention of* ZOROASTER, *or* ZARATOOSHT: *he reforms the religion of the* PERSIANS. *Their horror of ditheiſm: their accounting for the appearances of evil: their notions of fire; and of the human ſoul: their belief of the immortality of the ſoul: doctrine of rewards and puniſhments.* Zoroaſter's *books being loſt, his religion undergoes an innovation. The* Parſees *ſcandalized as fire-worſhippers in a literal ſenſe: their innocence of manners. Account of the* SOUFFEES.

IF I preſume to add any thing, on a ſubject which ſeems already exhauſted by the learned and judicious diſquiſitions of Dr. Hyde, on the religion

ligion of the antient Persians, or of the modern Parsees, it is most certainly not from any presumption in me of improving on that excellent author. On the contrary, perhaps the remarks which occured to me, and were the result of my own personal conversation with some of those descendants of the ancient Magi in Persia, now refugees in India, may serve to corroborate some of those points advanced by him, that seemed to me susceptible of a further illustration.

Even in some respects where I may appear to differ from him, the prejudice most certainly ought to be in his favor, who studied the matter so much more methodically and deeply, as to deserve a preference to all the information I could obtain though on the spot: but then it was only by snatches from persons, whose broken English I could not always be so sure of understanding, as to depend upon my not having mistaken their sense, and less yet when interpreted by them at second hand, from some that could not speak our language at all. Besides, that such as fell in my way, in this pursuit of instruction, were none of them profoundly versed in their religion, being either purely commercial characters, or such as knew little more of it than the vulgar tradition, or the present practice and ritual part of it. Yet even their imperfect accounts, as they turned on a point of such high curiosity, which religion is generally admitted to be, and open into such a wide field of reflection, appeared to be considerable enough for me, not to suppress in them any thing that might perhaps throw a further light on this subject.

From all the enquiries I could make, it appeared to me, if not clearly, very probable, that there are two distinctions necessary to be made in this religion of the Parsees. The first, the pure one of Zoroaster, for so I shall call him, that name being

more generally familiar than his true one of Zaratoosht, from which the other was corruptly formed by the Greeks. The second and more modern one, such as it is at present in practice among the Parsees of Persia and India, disfigured by various adulterations.

It was under the reign of Hystaspes, about five hundred years before the nativity of our Savior, that Zoroaster florished. The limits of my plan do not here allow me to enter into the particulars of his birth, education, or introduction of his doctrine; besides that other authors have rendered such a task superfluous. I shall only mention their concurrent attestation of his having been profoundly versed in the mathematics and natural philosophy; whence he probably drew those sublime notions about fire, on which he founded the basis of his religion, and which are to this day retained by his sectaries.

It is very plain, however, that he found the homage to, and perhaps the adoration of that element, already established in that country, since there were Pyræums, or conservatories of perennial fire, known to be there long before his time. But that worship of it, whether religious or only gratefully reverential, or whatever else, was accompanied with so much idolatry or Sabaïsm, that enlightened by a sounder philosophy, he set himself to purge it of its gross errors, and reduce it to the two great cardinal points on which his religion entirely turns: the belief of one supreme God; and of the sun or element of fire being his first minister throughout all his works, as well as the symbol and eternal monitor of purity. The rest of his tenets were only subordinate to, or emanations from them.

As to God, the followers of Zoroaster, agreeably to his doctrine, are so penetrated with his immensity,

menſity, and conſequently omnipreſence of power, that they eſteem it a kind of impiety, or at leaſt a ſign of narrowneſs of conception to erect temples to him, as conveying an idea of locality or confinement of the deity between four walls that ſhocks and indignates them. Thence that celebrated ſaying of theirs, "that there can be no "temple, worthy of the Majeſty of God, except "the whole univerſe, and the heart of an honeſt "man." But of all their opinions, that which they hold the moſt ſacred, is, That God is the ſole neceſſary ſelf-exiſtent Being from all eternity, ſupreme and author of all good. Thence their thorough deteſtation of the ſchiſm of the Perſian dualiſts, admitting the co-eternity and co-ordination of the two principles of good and evil, and of the blaſphemous abſurdities of manicheiſm, founded on that hypotheſis of a ditheiſm.

Their manner of accounting for the appearances, and but the appearances of evil, is as follows,

They ſay, that God the arbiter and author of all Being, and all modes of Being, created a firſt matter or fluid, in which were eſſentially comprehended all the conſtitutives of thoſe forms, into which it became under his pleaſure infinitely modifiable; ſuch as the globe itſelf, men, animals, vegetables, minerals, &c. whoſe eſſence they thus pretend is at bottom all the ſame matter, fire *. That every thing is generated out of it, and ultimately reſolveable into it; its particles being what they imagine the minims of *all* exiſtence. An opinion, which by the way was alſo that of ſome of

* The Latin word *purus* is evidently derived from the Greek one πυρ fire: as *uro* to burn, probably comes from the Syriac one *ur* fire.

the Grecian philosophers. In this infinitely subtile celestial fluid the parent-substance, or crude matter of all future forms, they say, there existed no distinction of any, till the separation ordained by God took place, by a regulated diversified coagulation of the grosser parts contained in it. In this consisted that division of essentially the same matter at bottom into spirit, and matter or that which is commonly understood by matter in contra-distinction to spirit; or into light, and into the interceptor of light, opaqueness. Between these, through the principle of activity imprinted on that first matter, or elemental fluid of fire by the immediate hand of God, there results a perpetual struggle and conflict. On the side of fire, to rarefy and reduce all things into their original minuteness and fluidity; on the side of hardened matter or opaqueness, a resistance to the returning into it; to which principle they attribute the cohesion of bodies, and their mechanically passive aversion to dissolution. That but for this impression of activity on light, or what they understand by light, the elementary fire, though light is but a part of it, no motion absolutely could be in the universe, nor any thing be kept in order, but by its qualities of expansion and impulsion. That the coagulations formed out of it would be condensed into one hard impenetrable substance, collapsing for want of fire to expand it, or to bring it back to its original state, and compacted with cold, and involved in utter darkness. Neither of which circumstances, as some authors have mistaken the opinion of the Parsees, are positive qualities in matter, but negative ones consequential to the privation of heat and light. That but for the resistent *vis inertiæ*, or inert principle in opaque matter, the *vis vitæ*, or vital power in fire, would want whereon to exercise itself in those its omnimodal operations, which, under its

primary

primary original laws, ſerve to give motion, and animation to all forms of being. That this conflict was inſtituted for the wiſeſt and beſt ends, ſince inſtituted by a power incapable of any other. That it is preciſely from this conflict, that all the evil that appears to exiſt in the world, as well as all the good reſults; but that the evil is entirely ſubſervient, and even inſtrumental to the infinitely greater good intended by it. That the ſtubbornneſs of the groſs opaque modes of being reſiſting the operations of fire, and producing all thoſe appearances of evil, both in the moral and material world, ſuch as the rebellion of the fleſh againſt the ſpiritual light, and the diſtemperatures of the elements, is an incomparably ſubaltern conſideration to the good, which is both apparently and preſumably the conſequence of the conflict occaſioned by it. They make a *toto cœlo* difference between God's being the author of poſitive evil, and his being the permitter of ſuch a comparative evil, as they hold it the utmoſt preſumption in the narrowneſs of the human underſtanding to object to it, without knowing or comprehending all the depth and wiſdom of the divine purpoſes and meaning in it. Eſpecially as nothing can be more clear, than that many of thoſe ſeeming diſorders or imperfections, of which nature (which is but another name for the great *fiat* of God throughout all his works) is ſo unjuſtly accuſed, appear on examination to be conducive to the harmony of the whole, and often in quality of ſalutary admonitions to mankind. The concluſion then deducible from this doctrine is, that ſince many effects in nature, which appear at the firſt view to be evils, are juſtified, as to the wiſdom of their cauſes, by their ultimately iſſuing in a known ſuperior good, it is but fair to reſignedly believe, that all the reſt are not one jot the leſs preſumably ſo, for their

their ends being, most probably for very good reasons, concealed from, or impenetrable to us. That it is therefore the utmost rashness and impiety to infer absolute evil from some parts, or individuals, occasionally appearing to suffer in the course of things, from those primordial laws, to which God has subjected all his works in general, without excepting that part of them, man, whose good has been, doubtless, though without indeed consulting him, as much consulted as was fitting it should be, of which God ought surely to be held a competent judge. Perfection too being the appropriate attribute of God, they think it no injustice to man, nor that there was any obligation on that supreme Being to create him as perfect as himself. Thence they absolve omnipotence of the absurdity and inconsistency of evil being introduced into nature by the very author of all good, or which is nearly the same thing, by any subordinate creature under his permission; allowing no evil actually to exist in nature, any other than an imaginary, partial, temporary one, bearing no sort of proportion to real, infinite and eternal goodness, and therefore not incompatible with it. This fantom of evil then, such as it appears in the actual state of nature, they figuratively impersonate in the eastern manner, and give to it the name of Harryman, whence the Greek word of Arimanius; as the good principle or that of light, they term Oroozm, or Orosmades, by which they also often understand God, for its immediately proceeding from or representing him, for whom they have the reserved appellation of Yesd, or Yesdan. The above-mentioned conflict they also believe will last until the consummation of all things, when at God's appointed time the powers of light or pure spirit, will ultimately prevail over those of darkness or opakeness, and

when even the ſhadow of evil will be driven from the face of things.

According to this doctrine, the Parſees are, in a double ſenſe, ſo far from being materialiſts, that the name of ſpiritualiſts is more adaptable to them, ſince they rather reſolve all matter into ſpirit; and for that they make a perfect diſtinction between that ſpirit and God, whom they aſſert to be the Creator of it, and whoſe eſſence, or mode of exiſtence, they do not however pretend to comprehend or define, content with believing him the ſupreme Author and Governor of every thing, and different from every thing, but himſelf.

As to fire, they place the ſpring-head of it in that globe of fire the ſun, by them called Mythras, or Mihir, to which they pay the higheſt reverence, in gratitude for the manifold benefits flowing from its miniſterial omnificence. However, they are ſo far from confounding the ſubordination of the ſervant with the majeſty of its Creator and Maſter, that they not only attribute no ſort of ſenſe or reaſoning to the ſun, or fire, in any of its operations; but conſider it as a purely paſſive blind inſtrument, directed and governed by the immediate impreſſions on it of the will of God: nor do they even give that luminary, all glorious as it is, more than the ſecond rank among his works, reſerving the firſt for that ſtupendous production of divine power, the mind of man.

As to fire itſelf, excluſive of the ſuppoſed denſer coagulations out of it, that go by the name of matter, the Parſees opinion of it, ſuch as I had it from one of themſelves, is, as nearly as I could underſtand him, as follows. They very clearly diſtinguiſh its exiſtence as fire, into two ſtates; the one that violenter one of ignition, ſuch as in the ſun, and common burning fire, quick, and with different degrees of fierceneſs, never without heat,

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though ſometimes without light; the other, and neceſſary to feed the firſt, by which it is conſtantly attracted, like a ſtream ruſhing to an opening, is that of its primitive elementary ſimplicity, univerſally diffuſed as in the atmoſphere, or co-exiſtent with all ſubſtance in various proportions, as in ſalt, ſpirits, water, in ſhort where not? capable of even giving a ſenſation of cold, in the too long abſence or too great diſtance from it of the ſame element ignition; elaſtic, but loſing its elaſticity in becoming fewel to that other, whether in purely that its kindled ſtate, or that of its ſupplying life to the whole animal and vegetable creation, tempered by the fluids with which it mixes, and which damping it, return it effete and unſerviceable, till it recovers its ſpring; every where diffuſed, in us, round us, and above us, though always impalpable and often inſenſible, freely permeating, ſaturating, and impregnating the whole terraqueous globe, to its innermoſt depths, operating every thing in both its ſtates, by its preſence or retreat, and in both its ſtates eſſentially in inceſſant motion, though in different degrees, ſo as that nothing in the univerſe can be ſaid to be in perfect reſt, from its conſtant work of generation, preſervation, or deſtruction; for the reſt of ſuch infinite ſubtility, as to mock all graſp, all comprehenſion, all exactneſs of definition. Such too is preciſely the notion Zoroaſter eſtabliſhed of its omnipreſence, that one would be tempted to think he had from his known ſkill in natural philoſophy, and the curious mathematical machines for which he was ſo celebrated, the ſpecific proof of it from electricity, that ſo modern diſcovery with us.

As to the ſoul of man, they pronounce it, without heſitation, to be generated and conſtituted out of this elementary fire, according to the peculiar organization of his body, of which they imagine the heart to be the principal laboratory, ſending up

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the ſpirits, as the lighteſt ſecretions to the brain, where they are ſtopped by that ſoft ſubſtance, and receiving a further coction, become thought, reflection, memory, reaſon, &c. through the exquiſite workmanſhip of that part, which, as before remarked, they as far exalt above the element of fire itſelf, as we more eſteem a watch for the value it receives from the artificers hands, than for the crude materials out of which it is formed *.

From the perſuaſion alſo that God would not make any thing ſo unmeaning, ſo much in vain, as ſo valuable a work as the ſoul, to have no longer a duration than this tranſient temporal life, and from the unperiſhableneſs of the element out of which it is made, and in which, to uſe our terms, they comprehend equally the material and ſpiritual part of the body, only diſtinguiſhed by different degrees of denſity and rarefaction, they deduce and firmly believe the immortality of the ſoul. But for how its individuality is to be preſerved they do not pretend to account, nor think their ignorance leſſens in the leaſt the probability of that point, ſince they are ſenſible they cannot even account for the mode of their exiſtence here in this world.

Their doctrine of rewards and puniſhments in the other life, they found upon the clear ſelf-evident flambeau of reaſon lighted up in the human ſoul, which at the ſame time that it gives them the

* This opinion of the eſſence of the human ſoul, Boerhaave ſeems, in his treatiſe on fire, to have gone round and round, without daring to ſtrike into it, or to expreſs more than his ſuſpicion that it conſiſted of fire, " animam ex igne conſtare," the diſcovery of electricity, had he then known it, would perhaps have emboldened him to a more peremptory deciſion. And even Sir Iſaac Newton's ethereal fluid may, on examination, be found ſomething analogous to this doctrine of Zoroaſter's of fire, according to which this globe, and indeed the whole univerſe is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, an empyreum.

per-

perception of right and wrong, of the conflict in short, to speak in their figurative stile, between Oroozm the good principle, and Harryman the evil one; or, as in ours, between the gross flesh, and the purer spirit, inclines them naturally enough to the side of virtue, to constitute them guilty if they prefer that of vice, the temptation of which was given to them for an occasion of merit in combating and conquering it, and never great enough to excuse their yielding to it, if they did but justice to their gift of reason, or gave it fair play, as they ought to do, if only out of gratitude and respect to the Divine Power, and to follow where he leads.

As to their punishments, they do not admit material burning to be any part of them. They think the element of fire to be too pure, too noble, to be employed in the vile office of executioner. Nay, they pretend that the business of Mihir, fire, or rather divine love, is to be that of moderating the inflictions of justice on the guilty souls in the place of their suffering, which the modern Parsees paint as a dark, dreary, disconsolate region, where every thing is big with horror, pain and disgust; caverns abounding with serpents, water as thick as melted pitch, and as cold as ice. Yet just as those torments are held, and even tempered with mercy, they do not believe them to be eternal; but that after a certain time, the objects of them will be delivered and assumed into a state of bliss, though of an inferior one, to that of the good, from whom also they will be distinguished with a brand in the forehead. They think, in short, that punishments will be, both in point of degree and duration, proportioned to the human frailty and finiteness: but that rewards will be infinite and unmeasurable, like the divine goodness.

Such was the bottom of the doctrine of Zoroaster, as it may even to this day be collected out of

of the traditional remains of it, among the adulterations it has undergone since his time, and of which I now proceed to give the best account of their origin that I could obtain.

This religion of that great man was it seems too simple, too uncompounded to satisfy the gross conceptions of the vulgar, or to answer the lucrative purposes of the chief Moghs, or Magi, now known, in India at least, by the name of Dustoors, or directors of their ritual, not improbably derived from the Persian word *Dustoor*, signifying form or custom.

A NUMBER of years being elapsed since the death of Zoroaster, his religion was no longer suffered to continue in its original purity. His books had been destroyed; but whether by accident, or purposely to make way for innovations that could not so well take place whilst they were existing in judgment against them, I could not learn from any Parsee that I consulted. However, lost they all were, and the present capital law-book, called the Zendavastaw, in the same Pehlavi language, or old Persian, was pretended to be compiled by memory from it, by Erda-viraph, one of the chief Magi. But to judge of it by the abstract or translation of it into the modern Persian, by the son of Melikshadi, a Dustoor, who lived about two hundred and fifty years ago, and entitled Saad-dir, or the hundred gates, that same Erda-viraph must have greatly sophisticated and new-fangled the original doctrine by interpolations, additions, and foisting in superstitions that much disfigured the groundwork of it. Thence probably so many of those absurd rites and ceremonies now in practice among the present Parsees, too tedious to particularize here, and so unworthy the sense of so great a law-giver; such as, for example, their laying so much stress on their cushee or girdle, as not to dare to be an

instant

inſtant without it; their over-acted reverence to that fire, which Zoroaſter appointed to be kept in only as a conſtant monitor to them to preſerve their purity, of which that element is ſo expreſſive a ſymbol; and which they carry ſuch a length, as not venturing to pray before it, without their mouth is covered with a ſmall ſquare flap of linen, like a ſhort apron, leſt they ſhould pollute the fire by breathing on it. Nor did theſe innovations take place with impunity: for without attributing their utter ſubſequent ruin and deſolation to any judgment on them, it is enough to obſerve, that thoſe very acts of ſuperſtition expoſed them to that conſtructive ſcandal, which rendered them ſo odious to the Mahometans eſpecially, and ſo ridiculous to other nations, of their paying a religious adoration to fire, which they never did or intended: but the appearances were by their own fault againſt them. Neither were theſe additions of Erda-viraph without a view to the temporal advantages of the Magi, to whom a neceſſity of applying for occaſional purifications, not without a fee or gratuity, was made a part of them in the new Zendavaſtaw. As to this book in the Pehlavi character, whatever difficulty there might be of obtaining a copy of it in Dr. Hyde's time, there has been none lately, it being eaſy enough to get one, at ſcarce any more expence than paying for the work of tranſcribing. I am alſo aſſured, there are ſeveral copies of it in England. If there are any other works, as I am not aſſured but what there are, that go in Zoroaſter's name, they are certainly none of his, there being no genuine remains of his original writing, or tranſlations from them, but are all compiled and probably adulterated, in the ſame manner as the Zenda-vaſtaw, and very likely by the ſame perſon.

Yet notwithstanding this ſpurious ingraftment, ſuch was ſtill the force of the ſap of the original ſtock, as to hinder the fruit from being intirely ſpoilt; for by what even to this day appears, it is certain that no morals are purer and more innocent, either in public or private life, than thoſe in general of the Parſees in India at leaſt. For as to thoſe in Perſia, chiefly known there by the name of Ghebers, Gaurs, or Attaſh-pereſts, Fire-worſhippers, I have little or no knowledge of them. There are, it is true, reports not ſo favorable of them, but which there are many reaſons for rejecting; beſides this ſtrong one, that calumny is often added to oppreſſion, if only for the ſake of juſtifying it.

There is alſo great reaſon to think that the Souffees of Perſia, ſo named either from their *white* garments, or that the term imports the ſame as the Grecian one Sophos, wiſe, are but a continuation of the antient Magi, although they outwardly conform to the Mahometan religion for peace-ſake, as numbers do of the modern Sabaïtes, or the Druſians and Kalbains, about mount Libanus, and in the confines of Bagdat. Theſe Souffees ſave appearances in reſpect to the Perſian government under which they live: but the bottom of their doctrine is the pureſt myſticiſm, which contradicting no religion, can put on the forms of all, and aſſimilate with all. This may be evidently proved by a compariſon of the works of thoſe Aſiatic myſtics, or contemplatiſts, with thoſe of our Chriſtian ones, where the ſame ſpirit of refinement reigns congenially in both; boaſting an intimate union with the deity, and a ſublime detachment from all worldly matters; and even the fire-philoſophy is in a great meaſure adopted by Jacob Behmen, the moſt celebrated of our modern myſtics, and a proteſtant, who almoſt wholly

builds his visionary system of theology upon it. The principal aim, however, of the Souffees, is to frame within themselves a mental Elyzium, by an extinction of all the passions, in sacrifice to God: in which state of quietism they say they feel a certain pleasure, like that of the body, when after being over-heated it is cooled by a refreshing breeze. They also, especially in the conduct of social life, recommend three points to observance; 1st, That of a grateful return to friendship and benefits; 2dly, To win all hearts by generosity; 3dly, Never to depart from sweetness of temper, truth and candor.

And here, on taking leave of this subject, I entreat the candid allowance of the reader for any obscurity bred by the abstruseness of some parts of it; especially, for the difficulty naturally cleaving to it, of finding terms to express ideas originally unfamiliar and new to me; and that difficulty greatly enhanced, as before observed, by the imperfectness of communication in a broken language.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Gentoo *funerals. Ceremony of interment: of cremation: and similarity of customs therein with the antient western world.*

It was at Bombay that I had occasion to see the different ways in use among the Gentoos, for disposing of their dead, that of burying, and that of burning them, which last is much the most common.

As to the first, it was on the downs, that succeed to the sandy beach of Back-bay, that I happened to be present at the funeral ceremony of a Ketteree,

Ketteree, or rather one of a particular caſt of the Ketterees, burying his wife, a young woman that ſeemed to be about twenty years of age. Thoſe who accompanied the huſband dug a pit exactly in the ſhape of a well, in one ſide of which there was a nich hollowed out for the corpſe to be depoſited in a ſitting poſture, with room enough for a plate of raw rice, and a jar of water by her ſide. As ſoon as the pit was ready, they put her into it, with all her cloaths and jewels, exactly as ſhe wore them when alive. But as ſoon as ſhe was placed, her huſband, who had until then ſtood ſtill, as a ſpectator, jumped into the grave, and very compoſedly took off all her jewels, and brought them up with him, after which the pit was filled up. It is to be obſerved, that though thoſe of the caſt of the Ketterees are commonly to be buried, the Rajahs, and the great men of it, have the privilege of being burnt after their death. The wives of thoſe who are not burnt, and have a mind to bear their huſbands company, have their necks twiſted round by a Bramin, on the brink of their graves, and are then interred with them.

As to the ceremony of burning, I ſaw it performed on the corpſe of a youth of about eighteen, the ſon of a Banyan. The funeral pile was prepared on the beach, the father aſſiſting at it bareheaded, with what little cloaths he had on him, coarſe and torn, which is their general manner of mourning. As ſoon as the corpſe was placed on the pile, and ſome prayers muttered by the attendant Bramin, fire was ſet to it at one of the corners; and the wood being dry, and in great quantity, it ſoon blazed up and conſumed the body to aſhes, without any noiſome ſmell; ſuch as however does not unfrequently happen if there is a ſcant of wood, or rain intervenes to damp it. The aſhes are gathered and thrown with ceremony into the

ſea by a Bramin, who for that purpoſe wades into it as far as he ſafely can. Thoſe who are the moſt bigotted and can afford the expence of it, leave orders for their aſhes to be collected in an urn, ſealed up, and carried to be thrown into the Ganges, to whoſe waters they attribute a peculiar ſanctity. But what drew my attention moſt in the courſe of the above ceremony, was the behavior of the father, who, according to the Gentoo cuſtom of its being always the next and deareſt male relation, to ſet fire to the pile, walked thrice round it with a ſort of deſperate haſte, and then with his face averted, thruſt his hand behind him, and gave fire to it, after which he, with the appearance of the utmoſt agonies, rolled himſelf in the ſand, beating his breaſt, and tearing his fleſh.

This alſo preſents another ſtriking conformity with the Indians, of the Romans and weſtern Heathens, as may be ſeen in more than one deſcription of their burning their dead *. This, however, and numberleſs other inſtances that might be produced of ſimilarity of cuſtoms, religious and civil, ſeem to countenance the opinion before-mentioned, that the practice of the Indians had progreſſively penetrated ſo far weſt as Italy, in the very earlieſt ages, and even before Rome itſelf was founded. Nor will the channel of pervaſion of the continent appear doubtful or obſcure, to thoſe who conſider the connections of Egypt with Greece, and of Greece with Italy, and how naturally the importations of the Indian cuſtoms may be traced to the expeditions of Oſyris and Bacchus (whom ſome authors have confounded with Oſyris) and others into that country.

* ——Subjectam, more parentum,
Averſi tenuere facem.—— Virg. En. Lib. VI. Verſ. 223.

The circumſtance of going thrice round the pile, may be met with in other authors.

try. As to the latter ages, there is no doubt, but that the knowledge of India was as familiar in Rome, as it may now be in England; embassies having even come from the princes of it to Augustus Cæsar, after the Roman wars under his auspices had been pushed to the borders of it. Besides, that there was undoubtedly a considerable trade carried on between India and the Roman dominions, through Egypt by the Red-sea, by the Euphrates in the Persian Gulph, and over land through Persia itself; which kingdom gave also passage to the first silk brought from China, then called the nation of the Seres, whence the Latin word of Sericum for silk. India, however, ceased for a long time to be so well known, from the interruption of all commerce with it, by the troubles that followed and desolated both the Roman empire, and the intermediary countries, till at length it was resumed by the Salernitans and Venetians, opening indirectly a trade with it by the way of Grand Cairo, and Aleppo, by means of the Arabs, and the Persian Caravans which florished considerably, till the Portuguese Vasco Gama, in 1497, discovered the navigation to the Indian ocean; since when India itself is once more become familiar to the western world, and the trade to it more commodiously extended.

BOOK V.

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

CHAP. I.

Variety of the GENTOO *customs, and of the weather in the peninsula of* INDOSTAN. *Account of a species of* PIGMIES *in the* CARNATIC *country. Remarks on the* Gentoos *to the north of proper* MALABAR.. *Story of a female warrior challenging a* MORATTOE *general.* Gentoos *expensive in their marriages; affect corpulence; fond of high-seasoning, pepper, myrabolans, creeatt, and sagoe: practice of chewing betel; cachoondah, cachoo, confectionary. Some Casts drink strong liquors, and eat fish and other animal food. Effects of a fish diet. Reservedness of the* Gentoo-women. BRAMINS *and* BANYANS *revengeful. Poisoning in* INDIA *has been exaggerated. Account of a particular poison.* Bramins *in secular employs; confess the unity of God. Great difference of the proper* Malabars *from the more northern* INDIANS. *Plurality of husbands: nudity of breasts. Story thereon of a queen of* ATTINGA: *the sovereigns of* Attinga *always females. Manners of the* Malabars: *articles of their dress. Missionaries scheme of passing for* European Bramins: *story of the hypocrisy of one.* Malabar *feasts. Rajah of* SARIMPATAM's *forces trained up to nose-cutting.* — *Of* EUROPEAN *settlements*

settlements on the Malabar *coast.——Plagues and earthquakes not common in* India. Bramins *treatment of bloody fluxes: mordechin, barbees: sunrise, its unwholsome effect. Chronical distempers rare in* India.

HOWEVER the Gentoos are comprehended and known to the Europeans under that common appellation, which is derived from the corrupt Portuguese Lingua Franca, generalized over the maritime coasts of India, signifying Gentiles or Heathens; and though their religion is every where at bottom the same; it is inconceivable how much the various nations of them in that vast peninsula of Indostan differ in their civil customs and manners, not extensively on the same coast, but where they are only separated by the Ball-a-gat mountains, which are extremely high, and so called from *Bal* mountain, and *gatt* flat, because one part of them affords large and delicious plains on their summit, little known to Europeans. They divide that tract of land, of which one side is called the coast of Coromandel, the other that of proper Malabar, beginning as before noted, at Mount-Dilly; the whole peninsula narrowing to the point, like a tongue, to Cape Comorin, which terminates that part of the continent of India to the southward. Nor is the variety less in the weather itself, which nothing more than the partition made by those hills renders so different at the same time of the year, that the winter monsoon reigns along the Coromandel side, whilst the summer one prevails on that of Malabar, and yet they lie all under one latitude, and in some places there are scarce a hundred leagues from the coast to the other side.

BUT as the land northerns, the continent grows broader and broader, and the inland-parts in some

places towards the hills are covered with immenſe impenetrable forreſts, that afford a ſhelter for wild beaſts of all ſorts. But in that which forms the inland-boundary of the Carnatic Rajah's dominions, there is one ſingular ſpecies of creatures, of which I had heard much in India, and of the truth of which the following fact, that happened ſome time before my arrival there, may ſerve for an atteſtation.

Vencajee, a merchant of that country, and an inhabitant on the ſea-coaſt, ſent up to Bombay to the then governor of it, Mr. Horne, a couple of thoſe creatures before-mentioned as a preſent, by a coaſting veſſel, of which one captain Boag was the maſter, and the make of which, according to his deſcription, and that of others, was as follows.

They were ſcarcely two feet high, walked erect, and had perfectly an human form. They were of a ſallow white, without any hair, except in thoſe parts that it is cuſtomary for mankind to have it. By their melancholy, they ſeemed to have a rational ſenſe of their captivity, and had many of the human actions. They made their bed very orderly in the cage in which they were ſent up, and on being viewed, would endeavor to conceal with their hands thoſe parts that modeſty forbids manifeſting. The joints of their knees were not re-entring like thoſe of monkies, but ſaliant like thoſe of men; a circumſtance they have (if I miſtake not) in common with the Oranoutangs in the eaſtern parts of India, in Sumatra, Java, and the Spice-iſlands, of which theſe ſeem to be the diminutives, though with nearer approaches of reſemblance to the human ſpecies. But though the navigation from the Carnatic coaſt to Bombay is of a very ſhort run, of not above ſix or ſeven degrees, whether the ſea-air did not agree with them, or that they could not brook their confinement, or that captain Boag had

not properly consulted their provision, the female sickening first died, and the male giving all the demonstrations of grief, seemed to take it to heart so, that he refused to eat, and in two days after followed her. The captain, on his return to Bombay, reporting this to the governor, was by him asked, What he had done with the bodies? He said, he had flung them over-board. Being further asked, Why he did not keep them in spirits? He replied bluntly, that he did not think of it. Upon this the governor wrote afresh to Vencajee, and desired him to procure another couple, at any rate, as he should grudge no expence to be master of such a curiosity. Vencajee's answer was, He would very willingly oblige him, but that he was afraid it would not be in his power: that these creatures came from a forest about seventy leagues up the country, where the inhabitants would sometimes catch them on the skirts of it, but that they were so exquisitely cunning and shy, that this scarcely happened once in a century.

If the above relation should be true, as there is no reason to doubt it, we have here a proof, that the existence of pygmies is not entirely fabulous, as nothing can nearer approach the description of them.

As to the differences between the various nations of the Indians of these countries, they are so many, and so great, as to treat of them fully and in order would be impossible to me, both for the extensiveness of the matter, and my not being thoroughly acquainted with them. I shall only mention a few particulars.

The Gentoos to the northward of Mount-Dilly, as the Canarines for example, and the Sundah-rajah's subjects, all follow pretty nearly the same customs as the Morattoes before described, except that trade is more encouraged in their dominions.

As for the Angrias and Kempsaunt, a petty Rajah on the coast, they chiefly dealt in piracy; as also the Malwans, whose capital residence was a small island on that coast, fortified quite round, where they kept their cruizers; but these, as well as Kempsaunt, were rather friendly towards the English, whose passes they respected, on account of their jealousy of Angria. Next to Kempsaunt's country lies a small independent government, constitutionally subject to a woman, or petty Rannee, which is the feminine gender of Rajah. It is but lately that one of these female sovereigns, by name Debooree, who could raise about five thousand horse, which is their way of computing their strength, had so much the amazon in her, that on a son of her's being killed in battle by the famous Badgerou, the head general of the Mar-rajah's, the same who lately conquered Bassaïm, and the island of Salset from the Portuguese, she sent him a challenge in form, which Badgerou very sensibly declined, giving for answer, that the stake was not equal, for that she might gain immortal reputation by conquering Badgerou, but that he could not possibly acquire any by conquering a woman.

The Gentoos are in their marriage ceremonies extremely expensive, though frugal in every other article of life. Some of them will even go near to ruin themselves in the celebration of their childrens nuptials, and lavish away upon them what would be a handsome provision for the married couple when grown up. For, as I before observed, they make a point of entering them very young into the state of wedlock. Then it is they spare no cost for feasting, ornaments of their houses, processions, music, dancing-girls, fireworks, and the like, in the pomp of which they out-vye one another; it being a matter of ambition with them to have it said, how much was expended at a son's

wedding.

wedding. The Bramins too come in for their ſhare of the entertainment and preſents, their function being neceſſary to perform the ceremony. Some of the great merchants, eſpecially at Bengal, have been known to ſpend a lack of rupees, about twelve thouſand pounds; and, beſides making conſiderable preſents, have invited the Engliſh gentlemen to an entertainment furniſhed at their charge exactly in the Engliſh manner, under the direction of an Engliſh ſteward, for which they have allowed as far as five hundred pounds. In ſhort, there are few of them who do not in this point ſtretch their abilities.

The Gentoos too, as well as many of the Orientaliſts in general, affect corpulence, which they imagine adds to the dignity of their port, as they ſtrut behind a prominent belly, like the pidgeon called the Dutch cropper. To compaſs this, ſome of them will drink every day large quantities of Ghee, a kind of liquid butter, preſerved by being melted, and is kept in that fluid ſtate by the heat of the climate. This they imagine breeds fat, though it is hard to conceive, that it ſhould not rather deſtroy their ſtomach by the rankneſs it muſt produce in it. They pretend however that experience authorizes this practice. It might ſo, as to their intention, for any thing I ſaw to contradict this opinion, in the ſize of ſome of thoſe who made uſe of it; but I have reaſon to think it unwholeſome even for them, if but for that groſs habit of body it is ſuppoſed to produce.

The Banyans, eſpecially at Surat and Bombay, as they eat no fleſh or drink any ſpirituous liquors, aim at ſomething ſupplemental to that heartening diet, not only in the heat of the ſpices, and of the long-pepper, red or green, which they eat raw, or pickled with their rice, or mix with their currees, but are fond of the drug

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Aſſa fœtida, which they call Hing, and of a finer and more tranſparent ſort of it called Hingurah, both brought from Perſia. The conſequence however of which fetid part of their cookery is, that they ſmell exceeding ſtrong of it, not only at the mouth, but from its perſpiration through every pore. They ſay in their defence that it is very wholeſome, cordial, and a great corrector of all crudity, or indigeſtion.

Pepper too they inſiſt on being cooling; but with what truth, I know not, only that it is certain, that on the Malabar coaſt where it grows, and where one would think whole ages ſhould have inſtructed them in its qualities, it is their conſtant practice to give it in great quantities, in the vehicle of congee, which is a kind of rice-gruel, and that in the moſt burning fevers.

Myrabolans they generally uſe in purging, and have the higheſt opinion of their effects, either as a preventive, or a medicine. Their are various ſorts of them : ſome they pretend are ſo ſtrong, that they will operate by barely holding one in the hand clutched. But perhaps this may be only an Aſiatic exaggeration.

They have alſo a dry reed, which I have been told has ſome affinity to the Centaury major. They call it Creeatt, and on infuſion in warm water it yields a bitter potion, which they ſay is a ſovereign ſtomachic, and promoter of digeſtion.

Of the Sagoe, from the eaſtern parts of India they have no ſort of opinion, inſiſting, that the appearance it has of a jelly, or mucilage, when boiled, is a falſe promiſe of nouriſhment, being eſſentially wateriſh and unſubſtantial.

All theſe I have only mentioned for the ſake of ſuggeſting reflections to better judges, and without taking on me in the leaſt to determine how far the Indians are right or wrong in their notions.

The

The practice of chewing Betel is univerfal over India, as well as on the coaft of China. It is produced at all vifits and entertainments among one another, and even to the Europeans, fome of whom, efpecially the Portuguefe, and very rarely indeed fome of the Englifh, have adopted the habit. It is fometimes offered only in the way of civility, as a glafs of wine among us; but in large companies, it is brought in ready made up on Japan chargers, which they call from the Portuguefe name Bandejahs, fomething like our tea-boards, and diftributed round.

The dofe, if I may fo call it, muft neceffarily confift of the three ingredients, the Betel-leaf, the Arek or Betel-nut, and Chunam; for wanting any of thefe, that deep red color, which refults from their mixture in maftication, would alfo fail.

The Betel-leaf is fomething like that of a laurel, and grows upon poles like the hop. The leaf is full of large fibres, which with that of the middle they generally ftrip off with the nail. It has a hot, biting tafte, not unpleafing when one is ufed to it.

The Arek-nut is exactly in form and bignefs like a nutmeg, only harder; marbled in the infide with white and reddifh ftreaks; infipid to the tafte, and muft be fhredded with a kind of fciffors, they are never without for that purpofe, fo as to wrap it up with the leaf. They ufe it both raw and boiled, which laft they fay preferves and adds ftrength to it. But I would not advife any one to tafte it green, fince it affects the animal fpirits fo powerfully, that inftantaneoufly as it were, thofe who are not ufed to it, fall down as in a trance; it is true they recover prefently, and without any ill confequences.

The Chunam is only a lime burnt and made of the fineft fhells. For ufe it muft be wetted, exactly

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as if to ſerve for mortar, and is held in gold, ſilver, or metal round boxes.

To theſe three articles is often added for luxury what they call Cachoonda, a Japan-earth, which, from perfumes and other mixtures, chiefly manufactured at Goa, receives ſuch improvement, as to be ſold to advantage when re-imported to Japan. It is made up in little round cakes of ſcarce the breadth of half a crown, but ſomewhat thicker. The ſurface is a dark dingy brown, the maſs of a brittle gritty texture, and breaks white. The taſte is at firſt little better than that of common chalk, but ſoon turns to a ſavor that dwells agreeably upon the palate.

Another addition too they uſe of what they call Catchoo, being a blackiſh granulated perfumed compoſition, of the ſize of ſmall ſhot, which they carry in little boxes on purpoſe. They are pleaſingly taſted, and are reckoned provocatives, when taken alone, which is not a ſmall conſideration with the Aſiatics in general.

They pretend that this uſe of Betel ſweetens the breath, fortifies the ſtomach, though the juice is rarely ſwallowed, and preſerves the teeth, though it reddens them; but, I am apt to believe, that there is more of a vitious habit than any medicinal virtue in it, and that it is like tobacco, chiefly matter of pleaſure.

The Gentoos in general are fond of ſweetmeats and confectionary, and have an infinite variety of ſorts of them; many of them unknown to us in Europe, and ſome of them may doubtleſs be very good, though I never taſted any I could call ſo.

The Rajahs and great officers among the Gentoos, though prohibited by their law to drink ſpirituous liquors; yet being of the Ketteree caſt, which is far leſs ſtrict than that of the Bramins and

Banyans,

Banyans, assume to themselves a dispensing power in this point, and will indulge themselves especially in cordial drams. They may also eat fish, and some particular sorts of animal food; but as to beef, they are to the full as rigorous in their abstinence from it, as any of the strictest casts of the Gentoos whatever. They allow themselves a greater latitude in the plurality of wives and concubines; most of the Bramins and Banyans contenting themselves with one, unless she is, on competent experience, found to be barren, which is among them reckoned a great misfortune and reproach, but which is however very rarely the case.

The women begin to bear children at twelve years of age, and even much younger; for I have seen them pregnant in their tenth, but then their teeming time is soon over. It is not common for them to have any after thirty, about which time, and often before that, they go entirely out of bloom, and lose all that plumpness and delicacy for which they are so justly remarkable. This is, however, not to be understood of the celebrated beauties of Cashmeer, who being born in a more northern climate, and in a purer air among the mountains of that country, bordering on north-east Tartary, retain their charms and prolific faculty, as long at least as any European women. But these generally fall to the share of the principal Moors or Moguls.

I could not help observing the efficacy of a fish-diet, wherever there were fishermens villages by the sea-side, which were constantly swarming with children, beyond what could be any where else seen. Surely then the president Montesquieu was not out in his remark, that such a diet must diametrically counter-act the intention of the ecclesiastical legislators of the Romish church, who so judiciously

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ly prescribed it by way of mortification of the flesh, or in aid of continency. Such is their infallibility!

I HAVE before mentioned the liberty of the Gentoo women, and their rarely abusing it. When they appear abroad, or stand at their doors, they seem, by their looks at least, and their muttering, to resent it as an high affront, if any one stops to view or consider them. Some of them will with a disdainful air speak out aloud, and often use these words, "Deckh na mur," look and die, and certainly they are in general shy of any men speaking to them unless their husbands. Was a woman seen to suffer any of the other sex, except some very near relatioss to talk to her, though it were ever so innocently, she forfeits her reputation, if not her cast, as much as if things had been carried to extremities. The Bramins and Banyans too, with all the seeming liberty they allow their own wives, reproach the Europeans for suffering theirs to converse familiarly with other men; and when they are told, that we entirely depend on their virtue, they shake their heads, and answer with a proverb, that will sound but coarsely in our language, "That if butter is trusted too near the "fire, it will hardly keep from melting."

THE Gentoos in general are not only tenacious of their religion, but of all their traditional customs; their manner of life having probably admitted of little or no variation from what it was in the first ages. They live almost entirely by rule, and the whole tenor of life in one, according to his respective cast, is exactly the same in every point, as that of his ancestors and cotemporaries; which makes that the description of them by former travellers, is precisely conformable to what may be seen at this day.

IT is also observed, that the Bramins and Banyans do not want for that vice of cowards, vindictiveness.

dictivenefs. Averfe as they are to blood; they ftick at nothing to compafs their revenge by the ruin of their adverfaries: and if incapable of effectuating it perfonally themfelves, like women, and thofe of a non-fighting profeffion, fo true it is, that the human heart is every where the fame at bottom, they are but the more obftinate in purfuing their point, by all the arts their inventivenefs can fuggeft to them. They know perfectly well how to infinuate themfelves with governors, and men of power, by the fupplenefs of their character, and the ufe they make themfelves of to them, fo as to induce them to be the inftruments of their revenge. This is efpecially the practice of the Banyans, where they have conceived an envy or jealoufy of trade, when they fpare for no cunning to hurt or fupplant one another, and yet have fo much the art of preferving appearances, as not to be fufpected of the mifchief they caufe under-hand, and employ fuch refinements of policy, as the moft thorough European courtier would not difown.

Much has been faid of the prevailingnefs of the art of poifoning in the Eaft-Indies: but by the beft information I could procure, there is neither more of that infernal practice, nor greater fkill in it than in any other part of the world. I have heard it indeed faid, that on the banks of the Ganges, there is produced a feed, that if once fwallowed will adhere clofely to the coats of the ftomach, where it vegetates, and fpreads its ramifications fo as to deftroy a man, without its being in the power of medicines to extirpate, or obftruct its growth. But before reafoning on the naturally feeming impoffibility of fuch an effect, it would be firft neceffary to verify the fact, which was never in my power, and I have only mentioned it for the fingularity of the invention, if, as moft probable, it is one.

The Bramins, as being the hereditary depositaries of all the literature, as well as of the religion of the country, are generally in the higheſt conſideration, and employed by the Gentoo Rajahs as their miniſters and ſecretaries. Theſe laſt, under the title of Nagur-Bramins, or Scribes, have, in ſome parts, a ſingular way of prefixing the cypher of the number one, at the head of their letters, as ſome Romaniſts do the ſign of the croſs. By this they mean to repreſent the unity of God, which, though rather out of its place, I could not omit, in confirmation of what has been before advanced, of their ſimplification at bottom of all the divinities of their mythology, into the ſervants of one ſupreme God. But as if all theſe politically miniſterial Bramins had renounced the virtues of their condition, with its practical and ſpeculative duties, they moſt commonly take the bent of the court, and adopt its principles of rapine and oppreſſion, of which they will even ſubmit to be the inſtruments, and occaſionally give as little quarter to their own brethren, as to any others; which ſpirit of theirs makes a total difference between the worldly Bramins, and the religious contemplative ones, who remain within their ſphere, and preſerve all the ſimplicity and purity of their ſequeſtered life.

Yet even this corruption, reproached to the others, has not hitherto entirely penetrated to the Malabar countries, properly ſo called: where, though the Bramins are in the ſame or rather greater eſteem, and have more the lead of affairs, they retain more of the humanity and diſintereſtedneſs of their primitive inſtitution.

But indeed nothing can hardly be imagined more different in general, than the cuſtoms and manners of the Malabars from the more northern

parts,

parts, though undivided from them but by an imaginary line, beginning at Mount-Dilly, in the latitude of 12 north. Here the whole government and people wear a new face and form. The country, known by that name, comprehends a tract of land extended to Cape Comorin, and is bounded in-land by that vaſt chain of mountains which ſeparates that coaſt from the Coromandel, and runs up through the whole Indoſtan, till it loſes itſelf in the extremities of northern Tartary, or even extends farther to the very Pole itſelf.

THIS maſs of country called Proper Malabar, is divided into a multitude of petty kingdoms, or chief-ſhips; through which are diffuſed nearly the ſame modes of religion, manners, and policy.

THE higheſt dignitaries among the Bramins are called, by a Malabar name, Nambooreeſ: next to theſe are the common Bramins, or Nambyars; after whom come the Nayrs, a ſort of military nobility that runs hereditary, as all profeſſions do in the other tribes of India. It is among them that principally prevails the ſtrange cuſtom of one wife being common to a number: in which point the great power of cuſtom is ſeen, from its rarely or never producing any jealouſies or quarrels among the co-tenants of the ſame woman. Their number is not ſo much limited by any ſpecific law, as by a kind of tacit convention, it ſcarce ever happening that it exceeds ſix or ſeven. The woman however is under no obligation to admit above a ſingle attachment, though not leſs reſpected for uſing her privilege to its utmoſt extent. If one of the huſbands happens to come to the houſe when ſhe is employed with another, he knows that circumſtance by certain ſignals left at the door, that his turn is not come, and departs very reſignedly. It is owing however to the doubtful paternity, which ſuch a practice muſt neceſſarily create,

that inheritances defcend by the females, and that the nepotifm by the fifter's fide conftantly takes place, in quality of the fureft proximity of blood.

THE women of thofe countries are not allowed to cover any part of their breafts, to the naked difplay of which they annex no idea of immodefty, which in fact ceafes by the familiarity of it to the eye. Moft Europeans at their firft arrival experience the force of temptation from fuch a nudity on the foot of the ideas, to which their education and cuftoms have habituated them: but it is not long before thofe impreffions by their frequency entirely wear off, and they view it with as little emotion as the natives themfelves, or as any of the moft obvious parts of the body, the face, or hands.

IN fome parts of the Malabar, this cuftom is however more rigoroufly obferved than in others. A Queen of Attinga, on a woman of her country coming into her prefence, who having been fome time in an European fettlement, where fhe had conformed to the fafhion there, had continued the concealment of her breafts, ordered them to be cut off, for daring to appear before her with fuch a mark of difrefpect to the eftablifhed manners of the country.

THIS Queen of Attinga is the hereditary fovereign of a dominion, in which the Englifh have their fettlement of Anjengo, towards the Cape Comorin. By the conftitution of its laws, it muft be always a female that governs. It is againft the law for her to marry; but that heireffes of her blood may not be wanting fhe may choofe whom, and as many as fhe pleafes to admit to the honor of her bed. The handfomeft young men about the court, generally compofe her feraglio. The fons fall into the rank of the nobility; and the daughters only can pretend to the fucceffion.

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From ſuch ſtrange cuſtoms one would naturally enough conclude, that nothing but ſuch a barbariſm reigns in the Malabar as among the ſavages of America: yet this is far from being the caſe. The Malabars have in general even a certain politeneſs, and eſpecially a ſhrewdneſs of diſcernment of their intereſts, which thoſe who deal or treat with them are ſure to experience. Like moſt of the Orientaliſts, they are grave, know perfectly well how to keep dignity, and are great obſervers of ſilence, eſpecially in their public functions. They deſpiſe and diſtruſt all verboſeneſs in the management of ſtate affairs. Their harangues are ſuccinct and pathetic. A king of Travancore, for example, on two ambaſſadors being ſent to him by the Naïck of Madura, a neighboring prince, and one of them having made a prolix ſpeech, and the other preparing to take it up and proceed in the ſame manner, where the other had left off, auſterely admoniſhed him in theſe few words, "Do not be long, life is ſhort."

Most of the Malabars, male and female, are particularly fond of having their ears hang almoſt as low as their ſhoulders, which is effected while they are young, by boring the lobes of them, and introducing a ſlip of a brab-tree leaf ſpirally folded, and renewed in proportion as the hole grows wider and wider, from the conſtant elaſticity of its endeavor to recover its ſtreightneſs, and when arrived at its utmoſt, they adorn them with ear-pendants, heavy enough one would imagine to burſt the griſtle; in the upper-part of which they alſo ſtick jewels of value according to their circumſtances.

It is on the ſouthernmoſt part of this coaſt that, taking the benefit of the uſual indulgence of the Gentoos in matters of religion, ſome Romiſh miſſionaries penetrated into the country; and the bet-

ter to insinuate themselves put on the Bramins dress, and even adopted the string, which is chiefly their badge of distinction, worn across their shoulders exactly like the ribbons of orders in Europe. It is composed of brown cotton threads, knotted at distances, and is what the Bramins especially are never seen without. With a view to palm themselves upon these people for European Bramins, the missionaries also decorated themselves therewith; but not without a previous application to the court of Rome, where they represented it as a purely civil, not a religious matter; which was undoubtedly false, since those tribes who wear it boast of it as a sacred institution of the God Brama himself. But if they had not been profoundly ignorant of the history of their own church, they might have spared themselves the expence of such an untruth: for it is well known, that in the three first and best ages of christianity, the clergy, such as it then was, could hardly be distinguished from the laity, unless by its greater innocence, and sanctity of manners. The succeeding priests soon departed from that primitive simplicity, and made no scruple of adopting the garb of the Gentiles; as for example, the particular cloak of the philosophers, now their espiscopal pallium; nor of borrowing from the priests of the heathen gods their taudry fashions of dress, which to this day furnish the chief articles of their consecrated toilet.

One of these missionaries, on an English gentleman asking him, how he durst venture himself among so many naked-breasted beauties, defended by no armor but that of a frail chastity, answered, that he had not been insensible to the temptation, but that his method of subduing it was, by dropping melted wax on the peccant flesh, thus to correct one burning by another: on which the English gentleman

gentleman put him into a confusion, equivalent to a confession of his impudent hypocrisy, by telling him, with a very philosophical coolness, that he supposed, by his answer, he took him for a Portuguese.

The princes and chiefs of the Malabar dominions, and especially the Samorin of Calicut, often, on particular occasions, and festival-days, make entertainments to which the whole country round is invited; and where the quantity, rather than the quality of the victuals provided, inflames the charge of them, being chiefly rice, the pea-like grain of Dholl, with the sauce of turmeric, coconut, and other vegetables, all which articles are in those parts extremely cheap, and the beverage is never but pure water: they are however, literally speaking, cramming-matches; for it is not uncommon for some of the guests, tempted by the free-cost of them, to overcharge their stomachs, so as to die under it. This is treated by the rest as matter of pleasantry; and when they mean to celebrate the magnificence of any such feast, they do it by telling the numbers that burst at it.

On the back of the Samorin's dominions, and contiguous to them, lies the country of the Rajah of Sarimpatam; not that I could hear of yet subdued. It has been a constantly received law with them, never to make any but a defensive war, and even then not to kill a man though it were in battle; instead of which, they practice a singular method of fighting that has not, it seems, been without its success. Their military was trained up to a particular dexterity, at cutting off the noses of their enemies in an engagement; and the dread of incurring this deformity, a dread equal in many to that of death, proved sufficient to keep neighbors,

not much more martial than themſelves, from effectually attacking them. This reminds one of the famous ſtratagem of Julius Cæſar, at the battle of Pharſalia, riding round the ranks of his hardy rugged veterans, and directing them to aim ſpecially at the faces of the young delicate effeminate Patricians oppoſed to them. "*Miles faciem* "*feri.*"

The Europeans, Engliſh, French, and Dutch have lined as it were the coaſt of Malabar with their fortified ſettlements and factories. Some were obtained by force, others by inſinuation: but in general the powers in thoſe parts are not diſpleaſed with having them in their countries, to which they are undoubtedly a benefit by the protection they occaſionally afford them againſt their enemies, as well as for the trade they bring to it, and for the vent they procure of the natural and artificial produce of them, by which their revenue is encreaſed: and to do them juſtice, it is ſeldom their faults if any quarrels with them happen. It is oftener that of the European governors and chiefs, whom private paſſions, prejudices, and intereſts miſlead into engaging their employers into expenſive and detrimental feuds or wars, which they repreſent as honorable and neceſſary; or under ſuch plauſible, though falſe colors, as to obtain their approbation and ſanction, whilſt at ſuch a diſtance, it is hard for the miſ-information to be diſcovered. Thoſe princes who are not a match for the European artillery and diſcipline, on conceiving any diſguſt or reſentment, have fallen on a way diſtreſſing of ſuch ſettlements, not only by harraſſing them with alarms, and a war of ambuſhes to the very gates of their fortifications; but by laying a general interdict on the trade and dealings of their ſubjects with them. It is true, that themſelves

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are in the mean time not a little ſufferers by the ceſſation of their emoluments, and even of the ſubſiſtence of their people; but this they can ofteneſt diſpenſe with for a time long enough not to be the firſt tired. Not unfrequently too, they turn the channel of commerce into other European governments, always alert to ſupplant one another, and avail themſelves towards it of theſe miſ-underſtandings, of which they have perhaps under-hand ſown the ſeeds, or fomented the growth.

As to the climate in general of India, it is far from unwholſome, unleſs where particular accidents of ſituation diſaffect the air; as the neighborhood of ſwamps, the dry burning ſands on the ſea-coaſt, or the freedom of ventilation intercepted by woods. The heats are rarely ſuch as to be intolerable, eſpecially on abſtaining from any exceſs in ſpirituous liquors, ſtrong, indigeſt foods, or violent exerciſe.

It is alſo remarkable, that thoſe countries are ſeldom if ever afflicted with thoſe two ſcourges in nature, earthquakes and plagues.

As to the firſt, the ſtate of the cave at Elephanta is a proof, that for at leaſt theſe two thouſand years, thoſe parts have been exempt from it; though their mountainous ſituation near the ſea-ſide, like that of Naples, Sicily, and Liſbon, might make ſuch a viſitation naturally expected.

And as to plagues, I never could learn that there was any tradition, or hiſtory of any remarkable ones known there beyond certain epidemical diſtempers, ſuch as the bloody fluxes chiefly incident to Europeans, and the ſmall-pox more peculiar to the natives; and which ſometimes rages ſomewhat in the nature of a plague, making

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great havock among them, especially on the Malabar coast.

For bloody fluxes, the Bramins suggest a very simple, and as they pretend a most infallible remedy, consisting in a strict abstinence from every thing but rice stewed dry; to which they allow no sauce of any kind whatever, and attribute to it an absorbent quality, that is excellent against that acrimony which preys on the entrails, and breeds the disorder. For drink they give nothing but water, corrected by a very moderate quantity of cinnamon or Cassia-lignum. As to the Tellicherry-bark, long boasted as a specific in this distemper, it seems to have lately greatly declined in practice, probably from experience having shewn, that it was not so much to be trusted to as was imagined.

There is likewise known on the Malabar-coast chiefly, a most violent disorder they call the Mordechin; which seizes the patient with such fury of purging, vomiting, and tormina of the intestines, that it will often carry him off in thirty hours. For this the physicians among the natives know no more effectual remedy, than the actual cautery applied to the soles of the feet, the powerful rerevulsion of which rarely fails of a salutary efficacy.

The Barbeers is another dreadful illness of the paralytic kind, that attacks mostly the Europeans, and deprives them of the use of their limbs. The natives, with what reason I know not, say, that it is most commonly brought on by venereal excesses, having irrecoverably exhausted the radical moisture and spirits of life. The Portuguese apply to such as are in this condition, from that circumstance, the term of *Esfalfados*: but I am far from clear, that by it they mean all who are afflicted with the Barbeers; which, not denying, but it

may

may ſometimes be the effect of that cauſe, is not always ſo; being ſometime produced by colds caught by lying out expoſed to the dew, or night-air, and by the conſequences of fevers, eſpecially by being over-phyſicked for venereal complaints.

THE Malabar phyſicians particularly are of opinion, that it is unwholeſome to be out in the air at ſun-riſe; for that at that time it gives a certain life and activity to the noxious damp vapors of the atmoſphere, riſen during its abſence; but which its power encreaſing with its aſcent, conquers and diſpels.

CHRONICAL diſorders, ſuch as the gout, rheumatiſm, ſtone, conſumption, &c. are rarely known in thoſe parts; and indeed none of the diſtempers, more particular to them, are ſo frequent or general, as to form a juſt objection to the venturing into that climate. Thoſe who live any thing regular, or who liſten to the preventive advice of ſuch as are acquainted with the nature of it, rarely incurring more danger from it, than what they might find in their native ſpot.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Summary reflections on the trade of India. *That trade advantageous to the nation. Certain objections to it discussed.*

THE trade to, from, and in India, has so long been carried on in an established known rote of practice, that the public could certainly learn nothing new from any particular accounts of it into which I might descend. I shall only then hazard here such reflections, as occured to me on the view of it, in its totality.

It has been said, speciously indeed, but falsely, that the returns from India, consisted chiefly either in articles of pure luxury, or such as tended to discourage the industry of our native manufacturers, by interfering with the produce of it, from their being to be afforded cheaper; and that these articles, ruinous in either sense, were yet further so by their not being to be had but in exchange for bullion, of which they consequently impoverished the nation, and for so few of our home-manufactures, as did not form an object considerable enough to counter-balance the exportation of the other.

To this heavy accusation has been opposed a very solid defence, consisting of proofs, that admitting of no falsification, admit of no doubt; proofs from accounts easily verifiable, of the balance of national advantages being greatly in favor of that trade.

Nothing is plainer, than that manufactures or employment being wanting to the industrious or useful subjects is so far from being the case, that of these there is rather wanting a sufficient number

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of them to the work that might be found for them at reaſonable rates, and to the demands of the government for the ſervice and defence of their country.

Whoever will enter more than ſuperficially into this diſquiſition, will find, that pretended ſuperabundance of ſubjects, having reaſons to complain of the labor of the Indians defrauding them of the livelihood to be got by theirs, might be more profitably, to the public and to themſelves, employed in branches that would encreaſe the national wealth and power; ſuch as the more thorough cultivation of our old colonies, foundation of new and uſeful ones, improving of agriculture, and eſpecially ſtrengthening that great national bulwark our marine, to which the complement of hands is felt, as its greateſt need, ſo ſenſibly wanting; points rather preferable to many of the arts and trades, purely dependent on luxury, and which at once ſoften and unman thoſe who exerciſed them, and thoſe for whoſe ſake they are exerciſed.

What firſt gave riſe to the idea in me, was the obſervation of the wretchedneſs and inſignificance to the defence of a country, of thoſe ſo much envied artiſts, the whole tribes of weavers, callico-ſtainers, and in ſhort all the retainers to the looms of India, whoſe inceſſant and ingenious induſtry never ſcarce extricates them out of the depths of poverty; whilſt it at the ſame time diſqualifies them for any other effectual ſervice, being ſcarcely more of men than the machinery of their fabrics. Whatever advantage is made of their induſtry is entirely engroſſed by the Banyans, Chittys, or head-merchants; men as effeminate as themſelves; and in whoſe coffers, generally ſpeaking, all that money ſtagnates that is not inveſted in the uſurious advances which are ſo hard upon labor, by unconſcionably

confcionably fcrewing down its price; which being their great point in trade, leffens the commendation due to their fpirit of it, lucre being their fole object, and the public good quite out of the queftion.

STILL it will be faid, that fuch manufactures not only hinder the exportation of money, but actually bring it into their country. This is too evidently true to be denied, and fo far they are a commendable advantage, even though fufceptible of being abufed: but furely it is not ultimately a lefs one for the nation that deals with them, or that even furnifhes them with bullion, if fuch a trade is carried on with a moral certainty of an outlet or market for the returns, that will reimburfe it with profit; at the fame time that thefe of its fubjects, who might otherwife be employed in producing the like manufactures at a much dearer rate, fhould, by a found and comprehenfive policy, be diftributed into the many branches in which they are actually wanted, to anfwer much more valuable ends, in the increafe of the protective force of the nation, and of its power to extend its trade, navigation and influence. Such a refervation of fubjects, would be only preferring a greater good to a leffer one, to which it would be far from giving the exclufion; as it is far from implying fo grofs an abfurdity as that of difcouraging home-manufactures, or from meaning any thing more than a juft modification, and choice of them. For in the choice of which to encourage moft lies the great ftrefs of policy, and thefe inconteftibly are thofe claffes of mechanics who give to the crude materials produced by this country, fuch as wool, iron, tin, lead, &c. that additional value of their manual labor, which is fo much net profit to the nation. Imports that interfere with fuch, doubtlefs deferve to be difcouraged, and we

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ſee that they actually are ſo. But as to thoſe articles appropriate to India, grown into a kind of neceſſaries by cuſtom, and to which the reproach of luxury can only lie in declamation, the revenue might probably find its account as much in even the quantity of their imports being increaſed, as in the exorbitance of the duties on them. If more enlarged and comprehenſive notions were to take place, under the ſanction of proper regulations, the Weſt Indies, and our American colonies, might receive a greater benefit than they do from the Eaſt India trade, ſtill preſerving to England its right and advantage of being the centrical point of union of both. Thus if, by any means or device, the commerce with India could afford an augmentation of its number of ſhipping, the marine of the kingdom would receive a proportionable increaſe, and employ the greater number of hands, inured to the change of climates, and the experter for thoſe voyages of a long run; which would be a far preferable conſideration, to that of their being ſunk in ſuch of the lower and more ſlaviſh branches of the mechanics, as only procuring them a bare livelihood, rob ſpheres of occupation, fitter for freemen and Engliſhmen, of their requiſite number of hands, who in them would be more eſſentially ſerviceable to the ſtate, in the advancement of the live-force, navigation, and truly profitable trade of the kingdom. I ſay truly profitable, becauſe even trade itſelf may be ruinouſly diverſified and extended, if the other principal objects of government are neglected, or even not preferred, and a nation languiſh with faintneſs, amidſt thoſe riches, which ought to procure its ſtrength and happineſs. But this can never be the caſe, if the increaſe of the protective power, which has ſo juſt a right to be ſupported by the revenue from trade; is at the ſame time duly conſulted, and ſo ordered

as to keep pace with it. No folly being greater than that of exalting the mercantile above the military ſpirit, both being of ſuch mutual benefit, that they ought never to be conſidered in diſtinct views. However, if it was neceſſary to ſacrifice the object of one of them, it undoubtedly ought to be that of trade, which muſt decreaſe in its value in proportion to its decreaſe of ſecurity, and becauſe the ſafety and honor of a nation are points preferable to a momentary profit. But the truth is, that there is no neceſſity of neglecting either, and that it muſt be a wretched policy that does not ſufficiently take care of both, and make both ſerviceable to each other.

The expedience of which management ſtands no where more fully illuſtrated than in the Eaſt-Indies, where it is ſcarce poſſible to carry on a commerce on other than a precarious, diſhonorable, diſadvantageous footing, unleſs a ſtate of force procures a reſpect to, or confidence in our arms; the country-governments of India being conſtitutionally ſuch, as ſcarce ever to neglect occaſions of oppreſſion or plunder, where they have no oppoſition, or vengeance to fear. Nor do they ever ſolidly beſtow their countenance or friendſhip, but where they can depend on a protection in the revolutions, to which it is in the very nature of their deſpotiſm ſo often to expoſe them. The merchants eſpecially prefer dealing with that nation, which they ſee the moſt powerful and able to ſhelter them from the tyranny of their own country-men. Thence their predilection of our government to live under, and to which they are of ſuch notable benefit. As mere traders, the Engliſh would never have got the footing they had, if they had not added to that character the profeſſion of arms both at land and ſea. This is ſo

true,

true, that the ſpecial privileges, fortified ſettlements, and favorable grants obtained from the ſeveral Princes of India, will, conformable to their original dates, appear to have been owing to the figure our nation formerly made there in war, when its victories over the Portugueſe, who ſunk as faſt as we roſe, gave it ſuch a reputation, as that hardly any thing was denied to it; and, to ſay the truth, it is principally on that old foundation, that the extraction of our commerce has ſince ſubſiſted: I ſay principally only, becauſe no doubt our frank, unaffectedly and generous national character, amidſt all the faults of ſome of its ſubjects in power there, I can ſafely aver, without any partiality, alſo once bore in the eyes of the Indians a very favorable comparison with the ſilly, ſenſeleſs, ſanguinary bigotry of the Portugueſe; with the unſocial dryneſs, imperious conduct, and keenneſs after gain of the Dutch; and the ſuper-refined deſigning politeneſs of the French. And yet the advantages of theſe laſt over us in the affair of Madraſs, did not a little ſhake our eſtimation in thoſe parts, no people being more apt to be dazzled and influenced by ſucceſs than the Orientaliſts, and thoſe of India above all.

The Dutch eſpecially inſult us, in their inſinuations to the country-governments, of our inferiority, in that we are not poſſeſſed of a head place of arms, ſuch as Batavia is to them, from whence our operations might be more timely, and more effectually applied to any exigence, than as there now exiſts a neceſſity for waiting for orders and aids from Europe. They do not conſider, or at leaſt do not add a candid confeſſion of the treacherous and cruel ſupplantment of us, in a time of full peace, in the Spice-iſlands, which are the mines, from whence they draw the means of ſup-

porting the extraordinary charges of that their boaſted capital place in India, a competition with which our trade, circumſtanced as it has been ſince that fatal epoch, could never well afford; though it is impoſſible but it might have gained a much more conſiderable extenſion, if either the ſettlements we actually have, had been better cultivated, uſeful new ones had been formed, or other channels of commerce explored; or if, in ſhort, more attention had not been given to the temptation of momentary profits and preſent dividends, than to the founding of permanent eſtabliſhments upon greater views, but of which the immediate requiſite expence appeared to be as ſo much loſt in the diſtant futurity of the returns. This narrow conſideration it is, which combined with a certain generally prevailing indolence, and the facility of humoring that indolence, ſince the opening of thoſe fatal gulphs, the public funds, which, ſwallowing up the very aliment and ſupport of trade, have ſet up a claſs of men called the moneyed intereſt, to the deſtruction of the commercial one, upon the produce of whoſe ſtock, which itſelf has depauperated, it projects lazily to live; all theſe, I ſay, have more contributed to extinguiſh the antient Engliſh ſpirit of diſcovery and extenſion, than any certainty that could with reaſon be pleaded, of there being nothing further to be found or hoped for from it.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the PROTESTANT MISSION *in* MALABAR.

IN this country is the city of Tranquebar, or Taragu Wadhi, a Daniſh colony, with a fortified caſtle, which Ofre Giedde, a gentleman of that nation, purchaſed of the princes of Tanjaour in 1621; ſince which time it has belonged to the kings of Denmark. The place contains about 5000 ſouls; the greateſt part Pagans, or Papiſts.

THAT good king Frederic IV. of Denmark was touched with concern, that ſo many of his ſubjects ſhould live under heathen darkneſs, and was aſhamed that Proteſtants ſhould be wholly intent on commerce, without the leaſt thought, though obliged in meer gratitude, of the ſalvation of thoſe people, with whom they carried on ſo gainful a traffic. Not that the name Jeſus Chriſt was unknown in Malabar. There were many years ago, on the weſtern coaſt, a very conſiderable number of chriſtians, diſciples of St. Thomas, and of the Syrian communion. We preſume not to fix the time of their converſion; and the Daniſh miſſionaries have proved the famous croſs, pretended to be found near St. Thome, and of which a deſcription was publiſhed in Liſbon, in 1722, an abſolute deception: they have demonſtrated, that the names of the kings Pandijen and Choren, which appear in the inſcription, are more antient than Jeſus Chriſt. Theſe Syrian chriſtians are divided into two communions; and a great part of them were brought over to the Romiſh communion, when the Portugueſe were maſters of Cochin. Near ſeventy churches were united to that of Rome, and their head in thoſe times was called

Mar-Gabriel: but Mar-Thomas, coming from Antioch, formed a party againſt him, to the peril of his own life; Mar-Gabriel having ſent aſſaſſins to murder him in his own houſe. He was ſucceeded by another Mar-Thomas; and this antient church recovered ſome part of its liberty. They have no veneration for images, and they reject tranſubſtantiation: but have embraced the doctrine of Eutychius.

The metropolitan church of theſe chriſtians was very near Madraſs, on the famous mountain of St. Thomas; whither the chriſtians of the weſtern coaſt travelled to perform their devotions; though it was a dangerous journey of ſixty days. This holy place was lately ſubject to the Portugueſe; and notwithſtanding they were diſpoſſeſſed of their ſettlements on the coaſts of Coromandel, it was the reſidence of a Romiſh biſhop: but the diviſions among his people hindered him from making it his conſtant abode.

Nearer Tranquebar, and in the city of that name, are other chriſtians vaſtly more numerous. It is about one hundred and fifty years ago, that the Romiſh miſſionaries ſettled themſelves in the kingdom of Tanjaour; and Pondicherry was always well ſupplied with French Jeſuits, who applied themſelves to the converſion of the Pagans, under the dominion of France. There are other miſſions in Madura and the Carnatic.

The Portugueſe is the common language of the ſlaves and ſoldiers of the company, who are compoſed of ſuch tawny Portugueſe, deſcended from thoſe firſt conquerors of the Indies, who choſe to ſtay in the country after they were deprived of their fortreſſes by other nations.

The Malabarian language is very difficult for an European. Baldæus and Gedaes have pronounced

nounced it impoſſible to be learnt by one not born in the country. The Romiſh miſſionaries ſeldom enjoin themſelves ſo hard a taſk; and indeed what means are there of learning it? M. Ziegenbalg found but one European, who knew enough of Malabarian to make a tranſlation of it: and there was no book to ſerve him for a guide. There was but one way for him to be inſtructed in it, and that very mortifying for a perſon who had no other views than the ſervice of the goſpel. He made a bargain with a Malabarian ſchoolmaſter, and went and ſeated himſelf among the naked children of the country, who learned to read and write: there he learned to draw in the characters of ſounds, the ſenſe of which was wholly unknown to him; and ſubmitted to the ſame taſks as the ſchool-boys. Such was the ardent zeal of M. Ziegenbalg, that in leſs than a year he attained a perfect knowledge of the Malabarian tongue; and the learned of that country admired the elegance of his diction. After that, in 1708, he applied himſelf to the tranſlation of the Bible, which he finiſhed in 1711, and had it printed at Tranquebar in 1714. He compoſed alſo a Malabarian dictionary of 20,000 words, taken from the poets. As ſoon as he could ſpeak the language, he employed this new talent in the propagation of the chriſtian faith. He reſorted to the Pagan feaſts, to the pagodas, to the conſecrated fiſh-ponds, and wherever theſe Gentiles had their aſſemblies: there he conſulted the Bramins; repreſenting to them the ridiculouſneſs of their religion, and raiſed the admiration of the people, who never heard any man talk like that German prieſt. The principal perſons among the learned, both Pagans and Mahometans, held frequent aſſemblies for regular conferences, and entered into formal diſputations

with him; in which the purity of the christian morals displayed itself in such a manner, as to affect the most barbarous hearts. The Pandarams, the Mahometan priests, and the Bramins themselves, yielded to the force of truth. Mr. Ziegenbalg and Mr. Plutschau soon found, it was an easy matter to get the better of them at disputing; but that their adversaries had not the least concern in such a victory. Mr. Bourguet, in a remarkable latter addressed to Mr. Ziegenbalg, advises him to begin with a physical demonstration of the Being of a God. The Pagans are sufficiently convinced of this point, and besides, they want not to be confuted, but reformed. Here lies the main difficulty of conversions, and the difference between the labours of the missionaries of Rome and of Tranquebar; the Romans aim at nothing but persuasion; the Protestants endeavour to instruct and to render their converts wiser as well as better.

M. Ziegenbalg, to try another method unknown to the Romish missionaries, and to which their pride would never condescend, proposed to himself the instruction of children, whose tender hearts were free from prepossession, and not to leave them till he had thoroughly seasoned them with the principles of the true religion; for this end, he and his collegue gave public notice, that they would open a free school, where all sorts of children should be taught reading, writing, and accompts, with other things proper for their age, gratis. The concourse to these schools was surprising: in 1714, there were 21 schools in the city and suburbs, and the number of children 575, who there received instructions. At first, while the missionaries had none but Pagan assistants and overseers, they could teach the children nothing but morality, and choice sentences taken out of the Bible; which, for their elegance, were acceptable

able to the Heathens themselves; but at last they found means, by degrees, to convince governors of the schools, and to convert the children; and to this the establishment of the gospel is principally to be ascribed. The Malabarians themselves admired that spirit of charity which animated those schoolmasters, and regarded those schools as one of their best public works.

All nations have their prejudices, and the Malabarians in particular; though not so strong as those of the southern people of Europe. They have the same respect for the antiquity of their religion, the same fondness for frivolous ceremonies, and the same confidence in good works and penances. They have besides, an extreme repugnance to what they esteem impurity. The more intelligent persons among them had nothing to object to the missionaries, but the wine which the Europeans drank, the beef which they eat, the confusion of sects, and the omission of ceremonial ablutions. These prejudices operate with more force in proportion to the natural indolence of the nation, which hears and answers with docility, but suffers little or no impression from the force of reason.

Travelling in this country is attended with great difficulties. The king of Tanjaour is extremely jealous of every white man who passes through his territories. At every village, the toll-gatherers are intolerable in their exactions upon Europeans, and detain them until they obtain their liberty from the court by presents. Besides this, the burning sands, and the heat of the sun, and the want of food dressed after the European manner, are great obstacles, if not unsurmountable at some times: but these difficulties could not retard the zeal of the Danish missionaries, who, in 1707, applied one half of their pensions in erecting a mean church, which was called Jerusalem; and which has since

been rebuilt in a better manner. The other half was dedicated to the ſervice of the ſchools; reſerving only a bare ſubſiſtance for themſelves.

In 1712, there were 117 Malabarian Gentiles added to the chriſtian church, and the number of converts amounted to 221. The labours of Meſſ. Ziegenbalg and Plutſchau were ſoon become famous in Aſia and Europe; and the veneration which theſe apoſtolical perſons attracted from all ranks, procured them aſſiſtances, as powerful as they were unexpected. The king of Denmark ſettled on them 2000 crowns a year, payable from the poſt office, to defray the neceſſary charges of the miſſion; and this ſum was often doubled by extraordinary preſents. The piety of the king diſpoſed him to augment this fund, which was ſo well employed to the advancement of true chriſtianity.

Germany, excited by the accounts publiſhed at Hall, ſince 1709, ſent large ſums towards the ſupport of the miſſion. But the greateſt contributions came from England, which exerted itſelf on the occaſion. Since 1709, the ſociety eſtabliſhed there for the propagation of the goſpel in foreign parts very liberally aſſiſted Mr. Ziegenbalg; and, in 1713, the ſum ſent from England amounted to 1194 l. ſterling, which much exceeded the entire annual revenue for ſome years paſt.

It was indeed very affecting to ſee the proteſtants at laſt awake out of their lethargy. Mr. Plutſchau, who was returned into Europe, had many marks of eſteem conferred upon him, and favours were accumulated upon the Daniſh miſſionaries; who, from that time, almoſt conſtantly took their voyage to the Indies by way of England, and in Engliſh veſſels. Since that time, there has been erected a Portugueſe printing preſs, which was taken by the French forces, commanded

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by M. du Gue Trouin, when he plundered Rio de Janeiro in 1711, and afterwards purchased and sent to Tranquebar; on which occasion 250 copies of the New Testament in Portuguese, printed at London, were dispersed among the Portuguese in Brasil, who were the first of their nation in those parts, that ever had an opportunity of reading the gospel.

England, from that time, continued powerfully to assist the missionof Tranquebar, and alone sustained the mission of Madrass, and that of St. David. Of late years, those missions have been in a more particular manner the object of their charity. Two archbishops of Canterbury, Tennison and Wake, set on foot a collection for this purpose: the University of Cambridge followed the pious example of those prelates, and king George I. honoured the missionaries with a letter written with his own hand.

In 1715, was established at Copenhagen, a society for propagation of faith, which has since that time had the particular inspection of the mission. Loaded with honours and the charities of all nations through which he passed, Mr. Ziegenbalg, in 1716, returned to Tranquebar, the country designed for the last scene of his devoted life and labours.

At his return things assumed a new face: there were two printing presses already in the country; for Germany had furnished them with one for the use of Malabar. The presses were employed on an edition of the Bible, and other books designed for the conversion of the Gentiles, which were three short treatises; one entitled, Letters to the Malabarians; another, The way of salvation; and the third, Paganism, a state of damnation. The publication of these books, and especially the New Testament,

Teſtament, had a ſurpriſing effect. The very Romans themſelves then acted in diſobedience to their prieſts, which they had never done before, and came and aſked for the goſpel, which they had received for the foundation of their faith, without knowing what it was.

M. Ziegenbalg began tranſlating the whole Bible into the Malabarian language, which was not finiſhed before 1725, by Mr. Schulze, who catechiſed the children publicly, to oblige in a manner the Gentiles to hear the goſpel. He eſtabliſhed an excellent order in the exerciſe of piety; and Mr. Stevenſon, an Engliſh miniſter, who paid a viſit to Mr. Ziegenbalg at Tranquebar, ſpeaks with admiration of the decency of divine ſervice, and of the good order which he obſerved in all his miniſterial labours.

The king of Denmark had honoured M. Ziegenbalg with the title of ſuperintendant, which he had hitherto borne among the miſſionaries. Three new aſſiſtants were come to him from Europe, when death carried him off, on the 25th of February 1719, in the 36th year of his age. Mr. Grandler, his faithful aſſiſtant, who had particularly devoted himſelf to the care of the ſchools, ſurvived him but a year, and had only time to leave his orders to Schulze, the oldeſt and moſt active of the three miniſters of the goſpel. The death of thoſe two perſons reduced the miſſion to a very low ſtate, and the new miſſionaries found themſelves in the ſame circumſtances with Meſſrs. Ziegenbalg and Plutſchau, when they firſt entered on their work, being obliged to learn the language, without any other aſſiſtance than what they found in the books of their predeceſſors. The ſchools were diſſolved, becauſe the contract ceaſed between the ſchoolmaſters and the ſurviving miſſionaries,

fionaries, who could not be comprehended under it. This doctrine of the miffion lafted feveral years, and the number of converts in 1724 amounted but to 28. The number of converts has confiderably increafed fince 1736. There were in all 6252, in the 35 years of the miffion, ending October 5, 1742, a number of which, without being fabulous or miraculous, muft however be accounted a confiderable acquifition made by the gofpel, and a recompence proportionable to the number and labours of the miffionaries. Thefe converts live partly at Tranquebar, and the reft are difperfed over the kingdom of Tanjaour, where the miffionaries have formed five diocefes, or particular diftricts of the Gentiles.

THE miffion of Tranquebar in 1742, was under the direction of eight miffionaries, two national priefts, three catechifts of the firft order, befides thofe of an inferior rank, with a proportional number of affiftants. The fchools in the city are in very good order, and confift of near 200 children, maintained at the expence of the miffion: and new fchools have been eftablifhed in the country of Tanjaour. The Dutch Eaft India company has done many good things for the propagation of the gofpel: but it is in its power to do fomething more, without hardly touching thofe immenfe funds which it poffeffes.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of some particular ANIMALS *of* INDIA. *The* ELEPHANT *and* RHINOCEROS. *The* CAMEL, DROMEDARY, *and* CAMELOPARD. *The* LION *and* LIONESS. LEOPARD *and* PANTHER. *The* TYGER. *The* APE.

IT is not in men alone, that the difference of talents and dispositions is remarkable: all nature is full of similar examples. Every climate is not proper for every fruit; happy is that which produces the best. It is true, that India is deficient in some of the conveniencies of life; but this loss is amply made up by the great abundance of all that is necessary, and of several things that are peculiar to it, which draw thither all other nations of the world, either to admire its curiosities, or to make a profit of its riches and fertility. For there is none of them, but whom either necessity or luxury lead to the Indies: but the Indians themselves are not obliged to go any where else to give proofs of their indigence: they can even boast with justice, that they have more rarities than all other nations together; of which every one may be convinced, when acquainted with the nature of some animals familiar to them, and of the fruits which they gather in the fields.

No other countries in the world but the Indies, and some southern provinces in Africa, produce Elephants: but the Indian are much better than the African in quality. This animal, the largest, and the most extraordinary in its nature, which the earth produces, deserves to be considered in the first place. As savage of itself as the lion or the tyger,

tyger, it must be hunted like other wild beasts; and there formerly were none among the Indians, but the shepherds who had that permission. They inclosed, by a large and deep ditch, a plain about a quarter of a league in circumference; where they built a bridge of wood, and hovels into which they might retire; into this inclosure they carried some tame female elephants, who drew the wild ones thither in the night-time. As soon as they entered, the hunters retired out of their inclosure, drew off the bridge, and went into the neighbouring villages to seek for aid. Several days after, when they saw the elephants weakened with hunger and thirst, they returned upon tame elephants, with which they pursued and harrassed them, until they had exhausted their force. Then they bridled them, and made incisions about their mouth, and round their neck, to render them more sensible, and stop them when they made too violent a motion: afterwards they mounted, and drove them into stables by the force of blows.

Notwithstanding the enormous bulk of this animal, being twenty feet in circumference, he is of a docility and ingenuity approaching to the human intelligence. He is susceptible of love, affection and gratitude to such a degree, as to pine away with grief when he has lost his keeper: he is observed to be transported with grief, and ready to kill himself, when, in a furious moment, he has killed or treated him ill.

To this instinct of humanity, the elephant joins an extraordinary force, proportioned to his stature, which renders him the strongest of all animals. The Indians have always trained them to war, and made them the terror of the enemy, by the slaughter which they occasioned when they gave them the signal to advance. This happened by the

ſound of drums and trumpets, by the ſight of blood already ſpilt, at which they have a horror, or by a view of certain liquors which reſemble it, as the juice of mulberries or grapes. In an inſtant they make a furious aſſault, throw themſelves acroſs the battalions, and carry every where terror, diſorder and death. The ſmell and dreadful bellowing of theſe animals occaſion ſtill more diſorder among the horſes than the men. At the firſt attack, they are ſtruck with terror, they cannot be made to advance; they fall back upon one another, and even throw their riders. Cæſar had but one elephant, when he gave battle to Caſſibelan, king of the Britons, and he alone put the whole army to flight. This was the principal uſe which the Perſians, Syrians, and Romans made of them.

Sometimes they built upon the back of thoſe monſtrous creatures great wooden towers of ſeveral ſtories, upon which the archers mounted, and ſhot in ſafety, having almoſt their whole body under covert. In the battle which Antiochus Eupator gave to Judas Maccabeus, that king of Syria had more than thirty elephants of this kind, on each whereof were thirty-two archers, who ſhot arrows from all ſides; and an Indian who guided them. In the Indies they were ranged in the front of the army, at a hundred paces diſtance the one from the other, where they ſerved as a rampart againſt the enemy, until the moment when they were to be rouſed and united. Porus placed two hundred in the ſame line, when Alexander came to attack him.

This animal is ſixteen or eighteen months in the belly of its mother, after which he comes forth about the bigneſs of a calf. He does not arrive at his full ſtrength, until the age of fifty or ſixty years;

years; it is only then that they can build a tower upon his back. From his nose there hangs a mass of long and hollow flesh, which they call his trunk, and sometimes his hand, because it is of infinite service to him whether for feats of advantage, or of strength: he makes use of it to carry things to his mouth; from that arise two teeth, or prodigious tusks, which grow to six feet in length, from whence we have our ivory. As if this animal was acquainted with their value, or apprehended being killed on their account, he hides them in the earth whenever they fall from him through age, or any other accident. The skin upon his back is like a thick buckram, or rather a suit of armour, which can scarce be cut through; but under his belly it is much thinner.

Their ordinary food is grass or corn; but they are very fond of sweets, such as barley-sugar, and this is given to tame them. They make those whom they design for war drink the wine of the country, that is a kind of beer: but others who are weaker, and used for labour, drink only water, which they love best when it is muddy. They are subject to different distempers, of which the Indians know the remedies; and this makes that animal live two or three hundred years. Apollonius Tyaneus, or Damis, related that they had seen in the city of Taxila, the elephant of the famous Porus, with two circles of gold round his tusks, in which it was written, in Greek characters, that Alexander, in esteem of him, had consecrated him to the Sun. At the same time he must have been above four hundred years old. But their too great love for the marvellous renders this suspected.

The Rhinoceros, called by the modern Indians Abadu, comes very near the elephant in bulk and figure.

figure. This creature is chiefly found in the iſland of Java; but is common enough in the kingdoms of Bengal and Patna. The ancients have frequently mentioned this animal, but without giving an exact deſcription of it.

We muſt then have recourſe to the moderns for a knowledge of this extraordinary animal. Bontius and Father le Compte, who had examined it ſeveral times, ſpeak of it pretty much in the ſame manner. Here follow the words of the miſſionary. The Rhinoceros is one of the moſt extraordinary animals in the world. He is ſomewhat like the wild boar, if it was not that he is much larger, that his feet are thicker, and his body more unwieldy. His ſkin is all over covered with large and thick ſcales of a blackiſh colour, and an uncommon hardneſs. They are divided into ſmall ſquares or buttons, raiſed a little above the ſkin, and nearly like thoſe of the crocodile. His legs appear to be ſet in boots, and his head wrapt up behind in a ſmooth capuchin, which has given occaſion to the Portugueſe, to call him an Indian monk. His head is large; his mouth little; and his ſnout down to a great length, and armed with a long thick horn, which makes him terrible to the tygers, buffaloes, and elephants. But what appears moſt wonderful in this animal is his tongue, which Nature has covered with ſo rough a membrane, that it is not at all different from a file, and flays every thing which he licks. As we have animals in Europe that make a grateful repaſt on thiſtles, whoſe ſmall points agreeably ſtimulate the fibres or the nerves in their tongue; ſo the rhinoceros eats with pleaſure the branches of trees briſtled all over with the largeſt thorns. We are told by ſome travellers, that they have frequently given him of theſe, whoſe points were very rough and

and long, and it was wonderful to ſee with what greedineſs and dexterity he immediately licked them up, and chewed them in his mouth without the leaſt inconvenience. It is true, it was ſometimes a little bloody, but that even rendered the taſte more agreeable, and theſe little wounds to appearance made no other impreſſion on his tongue than ſalt and pepper make on ours." The author might have added, that this animal has two kinds of wings of a ſkin extremely ugly, which cover his belly like a houſing, and in ſhape reſembling the wings of a bat.

THOUGH the reſt of his body is in a manner wrapt up in armour, and thoſe who attack him are expoſed to great danger; yet the Indians hunt him as they do other animals, becauſe he is of great uſe to them after his death. The Moors eat his fleſh, however hard it may be. His horn is not leſs curious than uſeful: when it is cut through the middle, on each ſide is ſeen the figure of a man, whoſe outlines are marked by little white ſtrokes, with thoſe of different birds and other things, as in the Egyptian flints. The greateſt part of the Indian princes drink out of cups made of this horn, becauſe they ſay, it ſweats at the approach of any poiſon whatſoever. The people of Java likewiſe ſet a great value on this animal, becauſe there is no part but is found in ſome degree uſeful in medicine. They make uſe of its fleſh, horn, blood, teeth, ſkin, and even its excrements. They are perſuaded there cannot be a better antidote againſt all kinds of poiſon, and they attribute to it the qualities which the ancients did to the Unicorn. Frequently they make bucklers of its ſkin with its ſcales.

THE camel and the dromedary perform to the Indians, and the greateſt part of the eaſtern nations,

the same services which we receive from beasts of burden, with this difference, that they will carry a thousand weight and above, and go fifty leagues in a day without being fatigued; but they are not fit to draw carriages.

The camel is naturally fearful, insupportable to the horse on account of his bad smell, and suffers himself to be devoured by the lion and the tyger without the least resistance. We are assured he lives a century, if no accident happens to him. He has no teeth, except in his lower jaw; and he differs from the dromedary in this, that he has only one bunch on his back, and the dromedary two, disposed lengthways.

The Camelopard is not so well known. It does not resemble the camel, whose name the ancients had given it, but in the head and the manner of carrying it, bearing it in a bolder and more upright manner. His skin is reddish spotted with white, or white with spots of red; and his size bigger or less, pretty near that of a fine horse; but he is very slender about the loins, somewhat like the ape.

The Indians, according to the ancients, had even the art of taming the lion, and making him hunt like a dog, or to draw like a horse. His strength, his courage, and majesty have occasioned him to be called the king of beasts: and indeed he uses them as a demesne appertaining to him, having no other food. All of them respect him; all tremble before him; "but I know not by what instinct, says Ælian, he himself trembles before the cock and the elephant." He never attacks a man, says Pliny, but when old age prevents his overtaking other prey. It is then he draws near to cities, devouring those he finds in the fields. Sometimes the sense of his weakness incites him to join with others,

others, to afford each mutual aid; and this union becomes so much the more dangerous, that one cannot be attacked without engaging the rest which are in full strength. At other times he is not daunted at the most formidable hunter, whom he views with confidence and fierceness. He receives his first attack; he beats the ground with his tail, lashing his sides, and thus by degrees kindles that fury which has no example, and to which the most violent transports of passion may be compared. As there are always many engaged against him, he examines with attention from what hand those arrows are sent which wound him, whom he distinguishes from those who only flourish their weapons, or miss him. He fixes chiefly on those who have struck him; and if he can lay hold of them, tears them in pieces; but his vengeance is satisfied with overturning the others, and tossing them about. The lioness is not so distinguishing in her fury: as sensible to the loss of her young as to her own wounds, she, with her head to the ground, her eyes fixed upon those who would ravish them from her, never fails to save them, or to perish in their defence. That which Ælian and other naturalists relate of the fertility of this animal is peculiar to itself. They say she brings forth but five times; the first time she has five young ones; the second four; the third time three; the fourth no more than two; and the last time only one. Sometimes she couples with the leopard, and they distinguish the lions that proceed from thence, by their not having so fine a mane as those of the genuine species. Both the one and the other are much afraid of fire: some of them are white and some tawny.

The leopard and panther, according to Pliny, Ælian, and others, are the male and female of the

ſame ſpecies. Although this creature is not ſo large as the lion, he is not leſs cruel and dangerous when attacked; but ſeldom invades man firſt; yet the Indians deſpiſe his fury, and know how to profit by it. They hunt him among other wild beaſts; they eat his fleſh, and preſerve his young ones. When they have tamed and familiariſed them, they preſent them to the king, or keep them to make uſe of them in hunting. The leopard is naturally adapted to it, and carries that about him which attracts his prey. So ſweet an odor exhales from his body, that the roe-bucks and does are charmed with it, and approach him without knowing their danger: but as the ſight of his head terrifies them, and as they betake themſelves to flight the inſtant they perceive it, he has the cunning to conceal it under the leaves of trees, and makes not the leaſt motion till they are ſo near, that he can unexpectedly ſpring upon them. This kind of hunting is ſtill in uſe among the Indians; though permitted to none but the king.

It is pretended, that while the panther has young, the leopard dares not defend himſelf againſt her, although much the ſtronger, and that ſhe makes him ſuffer every kind of abuſe. Becauſe this animal loves wine, ſays Appian, the ancients have looked upon it as a ſymbol and attendant of Bacchus.

All theſe animals are as frequent in Arabia and Lybia as in the Indies: but it is here chiefly that the tyger is found, whoſe very name recals the idea of fierceneſs. In order to take them, the ſhepherds or hunters watch the moment when the mother is gone to ſeek food for her young, and carry them off. But when ſhe returns, and finds them not, ſhe becomes furious; ſhe traces them by the ſmell, and runs with incredible ſwiftneſs till ſhe has

has overtaken the Indians, who fly before her on the fleeteſt horſes. When ſhe comes near, they drop one of her young, which ſhe takes between her teeth and carries back to her den: the hope of recovering the reſt in the ſame manner, inſpires her with ardor, and cauſes her to return with greater alacrity. But the hunters have boats prepared on the banks of a river, and thus eſcape her fury. They tame the young ones, and make the ſame uſe of them as thoſe of the panther.

It were almoſt needleſs to ſpeak of the ape, unleſs it were to take notice, that he has his origin chiefly from the Indies. They are ſeen in that country of all colours and of all kinds; grey, red, white and black; and ſome have been brought into Europe larger than an ordinary dog, whoſe faces were of a perfect azure color.

Their attachment to one another is perhaps without example, among other animals; and we may judge of it by a ſingular inſtance which Tavernier relates. "Returning from Agra with the Engliſh preſident, who was going to Surat, about four or five leagues from Amenabad, we paſſed thro' a little foreſt of the trees called Mangoes. We ſaw a good number of large apes, male and female, many of the laſt holding their young ones between their arms. We were each of us in our chariot, and the Engliſh preſident ſtopt to tell me, that he had a fine fowling-piece; and knowing that I was a good markſman, begged of me to try it on one of thoſe animals. One of my ſervants, who was of the country, having made me a ſign not to hazard it, I endeavored to diſſuade the preſident from his deſign. But in ſpite of all I could ſay, he ſhot and killed a female ape, which hung among the branches, letting her young ones fall to the ground. What my ſervant had foreſeen came to paſs im-

mediately, all the apes who were on the trees, to the number of more than sixty, descended immediately in a fury, and fell upon the president's coach, whom they would have strangled, had it not been for the ready assistance afforded him by shutting the doors, and setting all our domestics to drive them away; although they came not near me yet I was afraid of the fury of these animals, who were strong and large: they pursued the president's coach near a league, so much were they enraged."

Mr. Eyre, who was chief of Patna in 1750, met with a similar accident, as he was going through a wood near the Ganges, with a guard, and many others in company. They saw a great number of large apes among the trees, chattering, and making a loud and menacing noise: one of the soldiers fired and killed a large ape; upon which some apes ran and lamented over it, while others advanced, as if they would attack the destroyers; but another fire made them disperse.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

A description of the country of TRANQUEBAR. *Of the coins, money of accompt, weights, and measures of* INDIA. *With a list of our* EAST-INDIA *company's present forts and factories.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſimplicity and rudeneſs of their tools, the Malabarians are very good mechanics, as may be ſeen by their fine painted chints. Here a joiner is likewiſe a carpenter and turner, and in all theſe trades he only uſes a kind of a very imperfect hatchet, a wimble, hammer and plane. As there are no European mechanics in the colonies, the natives do all the work, and much cheaper than the Europeans could do it.

THEY have their ſciences, as well as we; and will not be perſuaded they were ever known to the Europeans. They are great admirers of phyſic, ſo that the Romiſh catechiſts have a general paſſport, by applying themſelves to this ſcience; and ſuch has been their ſucceſs, that the late Mr. Grundler has given us an entire ſyſtem of it; and in a great meaſure we owe to their labours the magnificent garden of Malabar, a deſcription of which is publiſhed by M. de Rheeden; a work no leſs remarkable for the exactneſs of the figures drawn by the natives, than for the number of the plates.

THEIR phyſic conſiſts in the knowledge of their plants, and how to uſe them in preſcriptions, which their phyſicians learn by obſervation, or have tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors. Yet they do not neglect cultivating chymiſtry; for they uſe ſeveral calcined ſtones, or powders; and they even give into alchymy. And their fondneſs for

it is surprising, considering that fuel is very scarce, and that cow-dung cannot produce that degree of heat necessary for the fusion of metals. Their physicians are not in so great esteem as those of the mission. The great people in the Indies never fail, when they can have an European physician, to prefer him to their own; even the Mogul employed a surgeon, who came to Dehli in the retinue of an envoy, from the English East-India company.

These people compose verses; at least the missionaries call such as make them poets; but the Danish missionary could not find a rhyme or measure in the specimens published in the Tranquebar relations; for their language does not seem adapted to poetry: they themselves affirm that it is copious, clear, regular, and formed upon consistent, and even upon easy rules. They are fond of the repetitions of Patta, and Kappa, which seem disagreeable to Europeans; and their words, especially those called poetical, are of a length unknown in other languages.

The study of the sciences is not so common among the Malabarians. Scarcely one in ten thousand can read and write his own language with accuracy; this being a hard study, requiring six years application, and the pronounciation very difficult. M. Ziegenbalg, whom the most learned Pandarams admired for the purity with which he spoke their language, has left to his successors a great number of faults to be corrected. He wrote d for t, and tch where it ought to be ch, or s. There are two letters in particular, that can hardly be decyphered to foreigners; the one which M. Ziegenbalg wrote rh, is pronounced almost as rch or even ch: but Europeans pronounce it as an l. For instance, Piliacatta, instead of Parhejakadhu;

kadhu; the other is expreſſed by dh, and is rather an r: the ſame river being written Collarum, by M. la Croze, and Collodham by Mr. Ziegenbalg.

Their knowledge of phyſics is very groſs, as appears from their anatomy laid down in the Wedam, which is altogether in manner of the Egyptians. Bruhma reſides in the brain; Pulejar in the arteries of the hip; Wirchtnou about the navel, and Ruttiren about the heart. They reckon a great number of metals; but they have not learned the art to ſeparate heterogeneous ſubſtances, which are not malleable. They have two very ſingular metals; one the genuine Tambac, a kind of copper preferred even to gold; the other a ſounding metal, conſiſting of two parts of tin, and eight parts of copper, of which they make their kitchen utenſils. Their hiſtory goes back an incredible number of years. In fabulous hiſtory they are well verſed; but their knowledge is very deficient as to modern and true hiſtory; it hardly reaches to the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, as no author among them has taken the pains to leave to poſterity a true account of his own times. They tell us of Darma, Choren, Pandijen, and other kings, who were before the æra of the world; but they know not the names of thoſe princes who reigned three centuries ago.

The Malabarians pretend they have profeſſors who teach ethics, logic, rhetoric, geography, politics, mathematics, muſic and geometry; at leaſt they have names for all theſe ſciences: however, their profeſſors make but a poor figure, if we may judge by the wretched ſpecimens in their Wedam, or ſacred books. They do not ſucceed but in ſuch ſciences as depend ſolely on the laws of nature, implanted in the minds of all nations.

Of

other weights for ſugar, honey, &c. is the maund of 14lb.

At Bombay, 15 pice is one ſeer; 40 ſeers is 1 maund, or 28lb. 20 maunds is 1 candy, and 1 pucca maund is $74\frac{2}{3}$ lb.

At Surat, 40 ſeer is 1 maund, or $37\frac{1}{3}$ lb. and 20 maund, is 1 candy, or $6\frac{2}{3}$ C.

At Anjengo, 80 pullums is 1 telong, or 16 lb; and 35 telongs is 1 candy, or 560 lb.

At Callicut and Tellicherry, 20 maunds of $29\frac{3}{4}$ lb. is 1 candy.

At Carwar, 25 pice is 1 ſeer, 40 ſeers is 1 maund, or $25\frac{3}{4}$ lb. and 20 maunds is 1 candy, or 515 lb.

Along the coaſt of Coromandel, 20 maunds is 1 candy, or 500 lb. Engliſh, and a maund is 40 ſeers of 22 maces, or 25lb. Engliſh. But at Madraſs, 25lb. is 1 maund, and 20 maunds is 1 candy, or 500 lb.

In Bengal, 20 pice is 1 ſeer, 40 ſeers is 1 maund of 75lb. 20 maunds of 25lb. each, 1 candy, 80 couries 1 pun, and 16 pun 1 cahaun.

At Bencoolen, a bahar is 560 lb.

4. Measures. At Surat, the covid for ſilk and linen is 1 yard Engliſh.

At Bombay, 5 pecks is a parah, and 25 parahs a morah of uncertain meaſure.

At Madraſs, 3 pints make a meaſure, 8 meaſures a mereal, 5 mereals a parac, and 80 paracs a griſe of uncertain meaſure; but 1 gorge is 20 pices, and a covid $\frac{1}{2}$ a yard.

At Bengal, the covid is the ſame as at Surat and Madraſs.

At Bencoolen, 1 bamboo is an Engliſh gallon.

The liſt of the Engliſh company's forts and factories.

In the viceroyalty of Bengal, to which are, or ought to be ſubject, the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa:

Fort

Fort William, in the city of Calcutta. Is the presidency, or chief settlement of the company, in the viceroyalty, and stands upon the east side of the right branch of the river Ganges.

Moorshedabad, or Muxadabad, is the usual residence of the viceroy, or Subah, situated between the two branches of the Ganges, about 60 miles below, where the river divides itself into two branches.

Patna. The chief market for saltpetre, stands upon the same river, about 150 miles above where it divides itself.

Dacca, or Daka. Stands upon the east side of the left branch of the said river, about 60 miles above its mouth, or influx into the bay of Bengal.

Luckipore, or Juckidore. An inland factory in Bengal.

Bulramgurry, or Balasor. In Orixa, near the mouth of the river Ganga, a famous road, where ships bound up the Ganges usually take in their pilots.

Negrais. A little island, near Negrais Point, on the coast of the kingdom of Pegu, and east side of the bay of Bengal, under the said presidency at Fort William.

In the viceroyalty of the Deckan, to which are, or ought to be subject, the provinces of Golconda, the Carnatic, Malabar, and, in short, the greatest part of the large peninsula, lying between the two famous rivers, Ganges and Indus.

And, First, upon the east side of the said peninsula, commonly called the coast of Coromandel, all under the direction of the presidency at Madrass:

Visagapatnam. Upon the said coast, and on the frontier between Golconda and Orixa.

Masulipatnam. A city upon the same coast, farther south.

Fort

Fort St. George, in the city of Madrass. Is the presidency upon the same coast.

Arcot. An inland city, west of Madrass.

Wandivash. An inland place, south of Arcot.

Carangoly. A coast town.

Alamparva. A coast town, about 60 miles south of Madrass.

Permacoil, or Perumal. An inland city, well fortified in the Indian manner, west of the former.

Fort St. David's, demolished by the French.

Davecotah. A coast town, south of St. David's.

Carical. A French settlement reduced by us.

Secondly, Upon the west side of the said peninsula, commonly called the Malabar coast, all under the direction of the presidency of Bombay:

Anjengo. About 35 miles north of Cape Comorin, at the south end of the said peninsula.

Tellicherry. Near 200 miles north of the former, and a little to the north of Calicut.

Onor. About the same distance north of Calicut.

Carwar. About 40 miles south of Goa, the Portuguese chief settlement.

Bombay. An island upon the northern part of this coast, strongly fortified, and wholly possessed by us.

Scindy, or Tatta. Near the mouth of the Indus, called Sindi, by the natives.

In the large island of Sumatra. Fort Marlborough, upon the south-west coast, and near the south-east end of the island; a presidency under whose direction are all the factories on this island, but the fort was lately demolished, and the factory plundered, by the French.

Moccomoco. Upon the same coast, about 100 miles to the north-west of the former.

Nat-

NATTAL, Tapanooly. Both upon the same coast, but further to the north-west.

UPON the south coast of China. Canton. Is, at present, the only port of China frequented by European ships.

GOMBROON. At the mouth of the gulph of Bassora, in Persia.

MOCHO. On the Red Sea, in Arabia, near the Strait of Babelmandel.

ST. HELENA. An island, in the middle of the Ethiopian sea, and many leagues from any land, strongly fortified, and wholly possessed by us.

CHAP. VI.

Of the principal COMPANIES *in* EUROPE *trading to* INDIA.

THE trade to the East Indies was long carried on by the Israelites through the Red Sea and the Streights of Babelmandel, not only to the coasts of Africa on the west; but also to those of Arabia, Persia, and India on the East; who reaped a prodigious profit thereby. King David was the first who begun it; for having conquered the kingdom of Edom, and reduced it to be a province of his empire, he thereby became master of two sea-port towns on the Red Sea, Elath, and Eziongeber, which then belonged to that kingdom; and seeing the advantage that might be made of these two places, he wisely took the benefit of it, and there begun this traffic. After David, Solomon carried on the same commerce to Ophir, and had from thence, in one voyage, four hundred and fifty talents of gold. But the use of the compass being then

then unknown, the way of navigation was in those times only by coasting, whereby a voyage was frequently of three years, which now may be finished almost in three months. However, this trade so far succeeded, and grew to so high a pitch under Solomon, that thereby he drew to these two ports, and from thence to Jerusalem, all the trade of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India, which was the chief fountain of those immense riches he acquired, and whereby he exceeded all the kings of the earth in his time, as much as by his wisdom: but at length, the whole of this trade was engrossed by the Tyrians; who managing it from the same port, made it by the way of Rhinocorura, a sea-port, lying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine; so that it centered all at Tyre; from whence all the western parts of the world were furnished with the wares of India, Africa, Persia, and Arabia, which thus, by the way of the Red Sea, the Tyrians traded to; who hereby exceedingly enriched themselves during the Persian empire, under the favor and protection of whose kings they had the full possession of this trade. But when the Ptolemies prevailed in Egypt, they, by building Bernice, Myos-Hermos, and other places on the Egyptian or western sea, and by sending forth fleets from thence to all those countries to which the Tyrians traded, soon drew all this trade into that kingdom, and there fixed the chief mart of it at Alexandria, which was thereby made the greatest mart in all the world; where it continued for a great many years after; all the marine traffic which the western parts of the world had with Persia, India, Arabia, and to the eastern coast of Africa, being wholly carried on through the Red Sea, and the mouth of the Nile, until a way was found, about 280 years since, of

sailing

ſailing to thoſe parts by the way of the Cape of Good Hope: after which the Portugueſe managed this trade; but now it is in a manner wholly got into the hands of the Engliſh, French and Dutch.

THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY. The united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies, is the moſt conſiderable and floriſhing company of trade in Great-Britain, and perhaps in Europe, for riches, power, and extenſive privileges; as appears by the many ſhips of burthen which they conſtantly employ; the very advantageous ſettlements they have abroad; their large ſtorehouſes and ſales of goods and merchandizes at home; and the particular laws and ſtatutes made in their favor.

THIS company was originally formed in the laſt years of queen Elizabeth, who granted letters patent to the London merchants, that entered into an aſſociation for carrying on this trade; and the charter which ſhe granted them in 1599, has ſerved as a model for all thoſe the company has obtained from her royal ſucceſſors.

THE Portugueſe and Dutch were in poſſeſſion of ſeveral large territories along the coaſts of India, before this time; as alſo in ſeveral other parts of Aſia, proper for the proſecution of this trade. The former, indeed, had no company, which is ſtill the caſe: but the latter had formed ſeveral companies ſo early as the year 1596, which were afterwards incorporated together.

THE firſt fleet the Engliſh ſent to the Eaſt-Indies conſiſted of four ſhips, which ſet ſail in 1600, with Mr. John Mildenhal, who was employed as an agent to procure a trade, and carried a letter from queen Elizabeth to the Great Mogul, in behalf of her ſubjects: which ſhips returned ſo richly laden, that in a few years near twenty others were ſent there by the company.

After the death of queen Elizabeth, king James the First confirmed and augmented, by a new charter, all the privileges that had been granted the company in the preceding reign: and, to shew how much he had at heart this establishment, he sent ambassadors in 1608 and 1615 to the Mogul, the emperor of Japan, the king of Persia, and several other eastern princes, to conclude, in his name and that of the company, different treaties of commerce, of which some are still subsisting.

It is well known how many privileges the king of Persia granted the English company, for assisting him in the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormus; who made use of that famous island, and its almost impregnable forts, as a citadel, to support them in the usurpation of the commerce of the Persian Gulph, which they engrossed for almost an age to themselves.

The company's charter was renewed by king Charles the Second in 1662, whereby that monarch granted them abundance of privileges they had not before enjoyed; which charter is properly the basis of the company, and was afterwards confirmed by king James the Second: however, there were charters of king Charles the Second, whereby the company were granted some new privileges.

The first was dated the 3d of April 1662, containing a confirmation of the former charters; or, it is rather a new one, which attributes to the company several rights it had not as yet enjoyed; and adds to, or sets forth in a proper light, almost all those granted to it by the charters of Elizabeth and James the First, which will be more amply spoken of in the sequel; because it is properly the basis of all the commerce of this company; and because upon this charter are founded all the privileges

leges and policy of the company eſtabliſhed in 1698.

The ſecond charter granted by Charles the Second, was dated the 27th of March 1669, whereby his Majeſty made a ceſſion to the company of the iſland of Bombay, with all its royalties, revenues, rents, caſtles, ſhips, fortifications, and enfranchiſements: ſuch as then belonged to him by the ceſſion of his Portugueſe Majeſty, reſerving only to himſelf the ſovereignty, to be held in fee from the royal hoſpital of Greenwich, in the county of Kent; and for all duty, rent, or ſervice, the ſum of 10l. ſterling in gold, payable yearly on the 30th of September, at the cuſtom-houſe of London.

By the third charter, of the 16th of December 1674, the king likewiſe made a ceſſion to the company of the iſland of St. Helena, as belonging to him by right of conqueſt. This iſland, which afterwards ſerved as a ſtaple to the company's ſhipping, was diſcovered by the Portugueſe in their firſt navigations to the Eaſt Indies by the Cape of Good Hope; but having abandoned it, the iſland was poſſeſſed by the Dutch; who quitted it in their turn to eſtabliſh themſelves at the Cape of Good Hope, and were ſucceeded by the Engliſh, who were expelled in 1672 by the Dutch company: but captain Monday, who commanded a Britiſh ſquadron, retook it the year following; and this was the right of conqueſt that Charles the Second made a ceſſion of to the company by the charter of 1674. The fourth charter the company obtained from this monarch orders the erection of a court of judicature, compoſed of a civilian and two merchants, in all the factories and places poſſeſſed throughout the extent of its conceſſion, to judge of all caſes in ſeizures, and conteſtations, with regard to ſhips or goods going to the Indies, con-

trary to the exclusive privilege granted by the letters-patent of 1662; as also to take cognizance of all causes regarding merchandise, marine, navigation, purchases, sales, exchange, insurance, letters of exchange, and other things; even of all crimes and misdemeanors committed at sea, or in the countries, states and territories belonging to the company; the whole, notwithstanding, pursuant to the usages and customs of merchants, and the laws of England.

These four charters were afterwards confirmed by James the Second, by a charter granted in the first year of his reign: but the charter of 1662 was the principal, and consisted of 28 articles, whereof the most material are as follow.

By the first his majesty erects the company into a corporation, or body politic, under the denomination of the governor and company of merchants trading to the East-Indies.

The third grants it a common seal to serve in all its expeditions; with a power of breaking and changing it at pleasure, and of making and engraving a new one.

The fourth establishes a governor, and 24 assistants, chose out of the proprietors, or stock-holders, of the company, to have the direction of affairs, and to give all necessary orders with regard to the freighting and sending away of ships, together with all particulars belonging to the commerce carried on throughout the extent of its concession.

The fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, nominate, for the first time, the governor and directors; and regulate for the future, the form to be observed in the election of the said governor and directors, and a deputy-governor, or sub-governor, to preside in the absence, or in case of the governor's death. They also ordain before whom

whom the elected ſhall be obliged to make oath, and what this oath is to be; laſtly, they fix the time that all theſe officers are to continue in their poſt; and when the general courts of the company are to be held.

The tenth article fixes the extent of the conceſſion, and allows all thoſe that ſhall be of the company, their ſons of one and twenty years of age, their apprentices, factors, and domeſtics, to trade and negotiate freely by ſea in all the routes and paſſages already diſcovered, or that ſhall be ſo hereafter, in Aſia, Africa, and America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the ſtreights of Magellan; and where any commerce can be exerciſed, ſo that it is before-hand concluded on by the company; and ſo that alſo the ſaid commerce is not carried on in the places already poſſeſſed by the ſubjects of ſome other prince.

The eleventh article empowers the company to enact all the laws and regulations it ſhall judge proper, to be obſerved by its factors, captains, maſters of ſhips, and other officers in its ſervice; to revoke them and make new ones; and, in caſe of contravention with regard to the ſaid laws, to ordain for offenders ſuch penalties, fines and puniſhments, as it ſhall judge to be juſt and reaſonable, without being accountable to any one whatſoever, not even to his majeſty's officers; provided that the ſaid laws, and regulations, are not contrary to thoſe in England.

By the twelfth, his majeſty wills, that for all the duties and cuſtoms, on goods coming from the Eaſt Indies in the company's ſhips, a whole year ſhall be allowed for their intire payment; that is, ſix months for the firſt moiety, and ſix months for the other, by giving notwithſtanding a ſufficient ſecurity; which ſhall hold good alſo for the

goods exported from England for the East Indies, which goods shall pay no duty, if lost, before their arrival at the place of their destination; and, in case any duties are paid, a restitution shall be made, on the company making affidavit before the Lord High Treasurer of the kingdom, of the amount of the said loss; provided that if the goods imported be exported again in the space of 13 months, no duties shall be paid for such export, if it be done aboard British vessels.

The thirteenth article allows the exportation of foreign specie out of the kingdom, to be employed in the commerce of the company; and even those of England coined in the Tower of London, provided that the total sum exceeds not 50,000 l. sterling in each year.

By the fourteenth and fifteenth the company is allowed to have six large vessels, and six pinks, laden and equipped with all kinds of ammunition and provision, together with 500 good English sailors, to support its commerce throughout the whole extent of its concession; whereon his majesty cannot lay an imbargo upon any pretext whatsoever, unless he cannot absolutely do without the said vessels in some pressing and unforeseen want in time of war to augment his fleet.

The sixteenth grants to the company an exclusive privilege of trade to the Indies, ordaining the seizure and confiscation of vessels and goods, which the other subjects of his Britannic majesty might send there; the imprisonment of the captains and masters of ships who brought them there; and lastly, a security of 1000 l. sterling of going no more within the limits of the company's concession, in contravention to this article.

The nineteenth obliges the company to bring back into England at least as much gold and silver, as carried out every year; and assigns the ports

ports of London, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, as the only places in the kingdom, from which it shall be for the future allowed to export the specie it shall have occasion for in its traffic, which specie of gold and silver shall be entered in the said ports, either going out or coming in; though without paying any duties.

By the twentieth, the custom-house officers are enjoined not to suffer the entrance of any goods coming from the places within the extent of the company's concession, unless by a permit in writing.

The twenty-first fixes the sum in the capital stock necessary to have a vote in the meetings at 500 l. sterling, empowering notwithstanding those who shall subscribe a less sum to join severally together for the forming of one vote.

The twenty-fourth article allows the company to send ships of war, and soldiers; to build castles and forts in all the places of its concession; to make peace or war with all kinds of people that are not Christians; and to obtain satisfaction by the force of arms from all those who prejudice them, or interrupt their commerce.

And the twenty-sixth empowers it likewise to arrest and secure all the subjects of his Britannic majesty, who shall trade in Indian or English vessels, or who shall dwell in any of the places of its concession, without a special licence from the said company.

After the publication of this charter, the parliament seemed to dislike the exclusive privilege granted by the sixteenth article; which was no novelty, for it had been already agitated in the reign of James the First; but this prince, fearing to risque his authority, chose rather to repeal a like privilege, which he granted to the colonies of Virginia, than to uphold the royal prerogative.

The ſhares, or ſubſcriptions, of the company, were originally only of 50 l. ſterling, but, the directors having a conſiderable dividend to make in 1676, it was agreed to join the profit to the original, inſtead of withdrawing it; whereby the ſhares were doubled, and became of 100 l. ſterling. The firſt capital was only 369,891 l. 5 s. which, being thus doubled, amounted to 739,782 l. 10 s. to which, if 963,639 l. the profits of the company to the year 1685, be added, the whole ſtock will be 1,703,422 l.

The company, having ſuſtained ſeveral loſſes by the Dutch and the ſubjects of the Great Mogul, began to be in a declining way at the Revolution; when the war with France put it into ſo deſperate a condition, that appearing ſcarce poſſible to be ſupported, a new one was erected.

The riſe of this new company was occaſioned by the great caſe of the old company being taken into conſideration by the parliament; which caſe had been depending ſeveral years; and becauſe of its intricacy, had been firſt referred by the parliament to the king, and by him back to the parliament again, in the year 1698; when the old company offered to advance 700,000l. at 4 per cent. for the ſervice of the government, in caſe the trade to India might be ſettled on them excluſive of all others; and the parliament ſeemed inclined to embrace their propoſal. But another number of merchants, of whom Mr. Shepherd was the chief, and who were ſupported by Mr. Montague, chancellor of the Exchequer, propoſed to the houſe of commons to raiſe two millions at eight per cent. upon condition the trade to India might be ſettled on the ſubſcribers excluſive of all others: they alſo propoſed, that theſe ſubſcribers ſhould not be obliged to trade in a joint ſtock;

but

but if any members of them ſhould afterwards deſire to be incorporated, a charter ſhould be granted to them for that purpoſe. The houſe judged this new overture not only to be more advantageous to the government, but alſo very likely to ſettle this controverted trade on a better foundation than it was on before; a bill was, therefore, brought in for ſettling the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, according to theſe limitations, and ſome further reſolutions.

THE old Eaſt-India company preſented a petition againſt this bill; which, notwithſtanding, was paſſed in favor of the new company, who obtained a charter of incorporation, dated Sept. 5, 1698, by the name of "The general ſociety intitled to the advantages given by an act of parliament, for advancing a ſum not exceeding two millions for the ſervice of the crown of England" Whereby the ſum total of all the ſubſcriptions was made the principal ſtock of the corporation; and the new company was inveſted with the ſame privileges as were granted to the old company, by the charter of king Charles the Second. However, the old company was, by the act indulged with leave to trade to the Indies until Michaelmas, 1701.

THE fund of this new company became ſo conſiderable, and ſubſcriptions were carried on with ſuch facility, that, in leſs than two years, the company put to ſea forty ſhips equipped for its trade; which was double the number employed by the old company in the moſt floriſhing times of its commerce; and it ſent annually a million ſterling in ſpecie to the Indies; whereas the old company had never ſent above 500,000 l.

THE two companies ſubſiſted a few years in a ſeparate ſtate; when, having a due regard to their common intereſts, and for the prevention of ſeve-

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or from procuring, or acting under, any foreign commiſſion, for ſailing to, or trading there; or from ſubſcribing to, or promoting, any foreign company, for trading there, under ſevere penalties; though, upon the whole, this trade is monopolized by the company, and is generally eſteemed highly injurious to the Britiſh navigation, as all monopolies are to that of every trading country. This is evident from the behavior of the parliament in the reign of Charles the Second, who, was more reſolute, or more happy, than his grandfather; ſo that the queſtion was debated in the court of common pleas, where it was decided in favor of the king.

I SHALL conclude my account of this company, with obſerving, that this, as well as every company which is deſigned for building forts and making ſettlements in foreign countries, ſhould have been at firſt incorporated for ever; becauſe it is not to be expected, that a corporation will be at any great expence in building forts or making ſettlements, when they are in danger of their corporation's being diſſolved, before they can reap any benefit from the expence they have been at. This was foreſeen by the adminiſtration at the end of queen Anne's reign; therefore they eſtabliſhed the South-Sea company for ever, though they went a little too far in giving that company a perpetual excluſive privilege; for though this may be neceſſary at firſt, it ought never to be made perpetual. From an act made in the following ſeſſion relating to the Eaſt-India company, it would ſeem, that there was then likewiſe a deſign to have eſtabliſhed that company for ever; but how that deſign came to be laid aſide does not appear; for had it been carried into execution, the French, in the laſt war, would not probably

bably have found it so easy to make themselves masters of Madrass: at least, if they had, the managers for the company would have been much more to blame.

CHAP. VII.

Of the other EUROPEAN *companies trading to the* EAST-INDIES. *The* DUTCH East-India *company*. *The* FRENCH East-India *company*. DANISH East-India *company*. OSTEND East-India *company*. East-India *company of* SWEDEN. EMBDEN East-India, *or* PRUSSIAN ASIATIC *company*.

REMARKS.

THE Portuguese first sailed round the Cape of Good Hope to the East-Indies, in the year 1498; and the first settlement they made on the continent of India was at Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, in the year 1502. The English and Dutch did not attempt to trade to India till about the year 1600, and then only to the islands at first; though it is true, several of their commanders had, before that time, been sent out upon discoveries, and sailed round the globe, through the streights of Magellan, particularly Sir Francis Drake in the year 1586, and Oliver Noort in 1598. Besides, in the year 1595, the province of Holland fitted out four ships for discovery, which sailed to Bantam, in the island of Java, and brought back with them such samples of the goods of the east, as induced the United Provinces to erect one general company for that trade, in the year 1594; but the Portuguese had, for 100 years, engrossed all the rich

rich trade of India to themſelves, except that the Spaniards had a little interrupted their commerce, in the Moluccas and the Philippines, on their diſcovering a paſſage to the Indies through the South-Sea, in the year 1520; though, when the other European powers became ſenſible of the value and facility of this commerce, they ſoon began to participate the emoluments, by erecting the following companies.

The Dutch East-India company commenced in 1594, in the midſt of thoſe military confuſions attendant on the revolt of the United Provinces from the allegiance of Spain. The Spaniards having ſhut up all their ports againſt theſe new republicans, whom they looked upon as rebels, and having even prohibited them all commerce to the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, of which they were then, in ſome ſenſe, the maſters; neceſſity inſpired ſome Zealanders to go in queſt of a new paſſage for China and the Eaſt-Indies by the N. E. and to coaſt, if poſſible, along Norway, Muſcovy, and Tartary.

This enterpriſe was undertaken in 1594, 1595, and 1596, by fitting out ſhips three different times, but all without any ſucceſs; the extreme colds of Nova Zembla, and the impenetrable ice of Weigats, having either deſtroyed the ſhips ſent there, or diſcouraged the adventurers.

Whilst this paſſage was unſucceſsfully attempting, a ſecond company was formed at Amſterdam; which, under the direction of Cornelius Houteman, ſent four ſhips, in 1595, by the uſual way which the Portugueſe went, with orders to conclude treaties with the Indians, for the trade of ſpice and other commodities; but more eſpecially in the places where the Portugueſe were not as yet eſtabliſhed.

This ſmall fleet returned, two years and four months after its departure, with little or no gain

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in reality; but with good information, and large hopes.

The old company, and a new one just establish-ed at Amsterdam, being incorporated, they fitted out a fleet of eight vessels, which set sail, under admiral James Vaneck, from the Texel in 1598; and another fleet of three ships was fitted out, which weighed anchor the 4th of May 1599. These were followed by several others; and so many new companies were erected at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other places, that the States-General apprehended they must prove detrimental to each other; which fear, justified by some sad consequences, caused the directors of all the different companies to assemble: the result of this meeting was the union of all, which was confirmed by the states the 20th of March 1602; whose success was very great, both on account of the immense riches brought into the United Provinces, or the king-doms and states which this company subdued in so many different countries of Asia.

The first fund of this company consisted of 6,459,840 guilders, or 565,236l. sterling; of which Amsterdam advanced 3,674,915; Zealand 1,333,882; Delft 470,000; Rotterdam 177,400; Hoorn 266,868; and Enchuysen 536,775: and the first grant of the states was for 21 years, to commence from the date of the grant, which was the same with that of the confirmation.

The company is governed by sixty-five directors, divided into thirteen different chambers. The chamber of Amsterdam has 18 directors, the chamber of Zealand 12, the chambers of Delft and Rotterdam 14: those of Enchuysen and Hoorn 14; those of Haerlem, Leyden, Dort, Tergow, the provinces of Guelderland, Friesland, and Utrecht, each of them one director.

Seventeen directors were alſo choſen from among the ſixty-five, for the common affairs of the chambers; eight out of the chamber of Amſterdam, four out of that of Zealand, two out of thoſe of Delft and Rotterdam, and two out of thoſe of Enchuyſen and Hoorn, the ſeventeenth being choſen alternatively out of Zealand, the Meuſe, or North Holland; and it is this ſecond direction that regulates the number, the fitting out, and the departure of ſhips.

The company is privileged to contract alliances with the princes whoſe dominions are eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope; to build fortreſſes there, and to eſtabliſh governors, garriſons, and officers of juſtice and police: but the treaties are concluded in the name of the ſtates; in whoſe name all officers, both military and civil take their oaths.

At the expiration of each grant, the company is obliged to obtain a new one, which has happened four times ſince the firſt was granted; but the renewal of grants coſts the company conſiderable ſums of money.

By the grant of 1698, which was alſo confirmed in 1717, all the ſubjects of the States-General are prohibited the ſending of ſhips, and ſailing throughout the whole extent of the company's conceſſion, or carrying on a trade therein, either directly or indirectly; as alſo aſſociating with ſtrangers for this trade, or ſerving in their veſſels.

Nothing can be more wiſely and prudently concerted, than the police and diſcipline, whereby every thing is regulated in this company, either for the election of the directors of the chambers, or for the fitting out, and returns of ſhips; the choice of the ſeventeen particular directors, the ſale of merchandiſes, and the dividends of the profits; or, laſtly, for the conduct of their ſovereignties in the Indies.

This

This company has ſeveral large ſettlements, and many factories, for the ſupport of their trade. They are in poſſeſſion of the Cape of Good Hope, which ſerves them, as St. Helena does the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, for ſupplying their ſhips with water and other refreſhments in their voyage. The iſland of Mauritius ſerved them alſo for the ſame purpoſe. They have a factory at Mocha in Arabia, and two others at Gombroon and Ormus in Perſia, as alſo one at Iſpahan, the capital of that empire. They have likewiſe factories at Barak, Choule near Bombay, Rigapore Dunde, Baſſaloco, or Baynenar, and Bodven, on the proper coaſt of India; at Cananore, Pamari, Crananera, Cochin, Porchatt, Carnapole, Quilon, and Tegapatan, on the coaſt of Malabar; at Negapatan, Porta Nova, Sadraſſapatan, Cabelon, Pellicat, Catelore, Petipoly, Maſualapatan, and Bimlipatan, on the coaſt of Coromandel; at Balaſore, and Pipley, farther up the coaſt towards Bengal; at Baſnagul, Malda, Huegley, and Dacca, in Bengal; and at Patna, up the Ganges.

They have alſo a ſettlement in the kingdom of Aracan: they trade along the coaſt up to Siam, where they have the city of Malacca; and from thence they trade up to China.

They engroſs the whole trade of the iſland of Ceylon; they have ſome trade in the iſlands of Sumatra and Borneo: but the whole trade of Java, and the Molucca iſlands, is in their poſſeſſion; as is alſo ſome part of the trade of the Celebes and Banda iſlands; beſides, they are the only perſons who trade to Japan: ſo that no leſs than 40 factories, and 25 fortreſſes, are reckoned belonging to this company in the Eaſt-Indies; who employ, in this long and painful navigation, above 150 ſhips, from 30 to 60 guns, manned with 25,000

 ſailors,

ſailors, comprehending officers, ſoldiers, and mariners; beſides 12,000 troops of their own republic, to garriſon the forts.

Though all theſe factories are very conſiderable, they are not to be compared with Batavia, the center of the company's commerce; and the Cape of Good Hope, the ſtaple, or rather the place of refreſhment, for all its ſhipping, either going or coming.

The Dutch Eaſt-India company carry out great quantities of ſpecie, and of European goods, but chiefly of the latter, to India. From China, they bring home ſilks, both raw and wrought, China and Japan ware, tea, and arrack; from Bengal and Patna, ſilks, raw and wrought, diamonds, indico, and coris; from the other ports of India, ſilks, calicoes, muſlins, and great variety of other manufactures of cotton and flax; alſo ſhell-lack, ſtick-lack, red-wood, ſalt-petre, dying ſtuffs, and many drugs; beſides coffee, and ſome drugs, from Perſia.

From the iſland of Japan they bring home all kinds of Japan work, and lacquered ware; as alſo gold-duſt: from the Moluccas, they bring cloves: from the Banda iſlands, nutmegs and mace: from the Celebes, pepper and opium: from the Sunda iſlands, pepper, gold, coffee, and canes: and cinnamon from Ceylon.

These commodities being articles of luxury, and too great for the conſumption of the parſimonious Dutch, they export them to all parts of the world where they have any commerce; particularly to France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Turky, Dantzic, Denmark, Sweden, and Ruſſia.

French East India company. The propoſals of this company in 40 articles, bearing date the 26th May 1664, were preſented to the king at Foun-

Fountainbleau, who confirmed them, by his lettets patent, in form of an edict, and had them ratified in parliament the 1st of September following.

THEIR import, among other things, was, that the company should be formed of his majesty's subjects, even of the nobles, without any dread of derogating from their nobility.

THAT each share could not be less than a thousand livres, nor the augmentations under 500.

THAT strangers, of any prince or state whatsoever, might be incorporated with the company; and that those who should have in it 20,000 livres, should be reputed denizens, and in that respect should enjoy all the privileges of real subjects.

THAT a chamber of general direction should be established, composed of 21 directors; whereof 12 should be of the city of Paris, and 9 others of the provinces; and that the said chamber might establish particular ones, when and where it should judge proper.

THAT his majesty empowered the company to navigate solely, exclusive of his other subjects, in all the Indian seas, east and south, during the term of 30 years.

THAT it should have for ever the possession of the island of St. Laurence, or Madagascar, and of all the other lands, places and isles, it might conquer from the enemy, and the natives, to enjoy them in all property, seigneury, and justice, without reserving any thing therein, but sole fealty and liege-homage, with the duty, rent, or service, of a crown and scepter of gold, weighing 100 marks, upon each demise of a king: granting him also the power of nominating and establishing all officers, military and civil; though the company might have it in its power to nominate ambassadors in his majesty's

 name

name to the Indian kings and princes, and make treaties with them.

That the company might fend the fpecies of gold or filver it fhould have an occafion for in its commerce, notwithftanding the prohibitions enacted by the laws and ordonances of the kingdom; and this by a particular permiffion, and a writing granted in its favor.

That his majefty fhould advance, or defray out of his own revenues, the fifth part of the expence neceffary for the three firft equipments; for which he was not to be reimburfed till the expiration of the firft ten years, and without intereft; and in cafe it fhould be found, by a general accompt, that the company had fuftained a lofs in its capital, the lofs fhould devolve upon the fum advanced by his majefty.

That the Indian merchandifes confumed in France fhould pay but the half of the duties regulated by the tariffs; and that thofe defigned for other countries, and the exempted provinces, either by fea or land, fhould pay no duties of importation or exportation; as alfo the timber, and other neceffary articles for the building and fitting out of the company's fhips.

Lastly, That his majefty fhould pay the company 50 livres per ton for the merchandife its fhips fhould carry into the countries of its conceffion, and 75 livres for thofe brought back and difcharged in the kingdom.

His majefty alfo granted the company a feal, having for legend, *Ludovici* XIV. *Franciæ et Navarræ Regis figillum, Ufum fupremi confilii Galliæ Orientalis*; and for arms, an azure globe and flower-de-luce of gold, with this infcription, *Florebo quocumque ferar*; the fupporters being two figures, one reprefenting Peace, and the other Plenty.

The

THE extraordinary funds eſtabliſhed, whereof the king advanced the greater part, and which amounted to no leſs than 7 or 8 millions of livres, though theſe were to have been 15: the departure of ſeveral fleets, either for the eſtabliſhment projected at Madagaſcar, which was to be the company's chief ſtaple, or for the eſtabliſhment of the factories it was deſirous of having in the Indies; and laſtly, the union and aſſiduity with which the French directors endeavored to uphold this enterpriſe, gave great ideas of this company, and vaſt hopes of ſucceſs.

But the ill choice of this firſt ſtaple in an unwholſome iſland, inhabited by cruel and unconquerable people, leſs rich, and leſs fruitful than it was believed to be upon exaggerated relations; the death of the moſt able and experienced directors ſent to the Indies, the diviſion of others; a breach of faith in M. Caron, a Dutchman, inconſiderately ſet over affairs in ſo diſtant a country; the wars of 1667 for the rights of the queen, and of 1672 againſt Holland; the little ſucceſs of the ſquadron commanded by M. Deſhays, whereof a part periſhed in 1672, at Trinquimale, in the iſland of Ceylon, where the ſaid Caron had unadviſedly engaged; and the other at the taking, defence, and ſurrender of St. Thomas, in 1673 and 1674, brought affairs into ſuch a ſituation, that what ſubſiſted afterwards of this company, or rather thoſe formed out of its ruin, which the traders of St. Malo ſupported with ſome ſucceſs to 1719, were no ways conſiderable.

THE company being thus incapacitated from fulfilling its engagements, and continuing its commerce, it was thought adviſeable to give it a new form, whereby its credit, if poſſible, might be reanimated: to ſucceed wherein, a general aſſembly of the parties was held on the 29th of May 1684,

 pur-

pursuant to a *lettre de cachet* of the 17th of April preceding.

This *lettre de cachet* ordained the election of a sufficient number of directors to fill the place of the deceased, or of those who could no longer acquit themselves of that function. It nominated commissioners, for the most part the same that had been nominated in 1675, to examine the company's books and accompts; signifying withal, that it was his majesty's intention a provision should be made of suitable gratifications for the directors, both of the general chamber of Paris, and the particular ones of the provinces.

The new directors being chosen pursuant to the *lettre de cachet*, the company's books were laid before the king's commissioners, and the director's gratifications being debated upon, were fixed at 3000 livres for each director of the general chamber of Paris, and 1000 livres for each director of the particular ones.

But this assembly, and the examination of the company's books, having served only to disclose its desperate condition, and the impossibility of subsisting without being reduced to another form, his majesty ordained, by an arret of his council of the 3d September of the same year, a speedy convocation of a new assembly; wherein, in presence of his commissioners, the books of the Indian factories, as also the clerks of the said factories newly arrived, should be heard and examined; and that out of the said books, and other memoirs, a new book of accompts of the quality and value of the company's effects should be made; which, when inspected into by his majesty, with the advice of his commissioners, he might be in a condition to resolve upon what was to be done.

In consequence of this assembly, it appeared, by the company's accompts, that its funds amounted

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in all only to the sum of 3,353,966 livres, or about 136,255 l. sterling; and that only 80 actionists had afforded their fourths over and above; whereupon the king issued out a declaration, in the month of February 1685; whereby it was ordained,

1st, THAT the edict of the month of September 1664, should be executed, pursuant to its form and tenor, for the benefit of the antient actionaries, who should have furnished their fourth over and above, as well for the fourth remaining of their actions, as for their new fund of the fourth over and above.

2d, THAT those who had not paid the said fourth, should forfeit all the interest they had therein.

3d, THAT the sum of 728,975 livres, to which the supplement amounted, and unpaid by the actionists, should be advanced by those nominated by his majesty, who were to take the place of those that had not supplied the said fourth, with the injunction of paying them a like sum of 728,975 livres for the fourth, to which all the actions had been reduced.

4th, THAT those who contributed new funds for this reimbursement, and for the continuation of the company's commerce, should be paid the interest of their said funds and reimbursements, upon the footing of payment used in maritime commerce, that is, upon the proviso of profits that might issue from the said commerce.

5th, THAT, to take care of the company, and its trade, 12 directors should be chosen from among the actionists of the city of Paris, who should have at least furnished 30,000 livres of new funds.

6th, THAT, upon the decease of any of the said directors, others should be nominated, by a plu-

rality of voices, as well from among the ſurviving directors, as from among the actioniſts, who ſhould have furniſhed at leaſt 20,000 livres of actions.

7th, That the ſaid directors ſhould have the ſole management of the affairs, and commerce of the company; his majeſty ſuppreſſing all the directors nominated in the general chamber of Paris, and in all the other chambers of the kingdom.

8th, That in caſe the company was willing to keep the iſland of Madagaſcar, it ſhould be held purſuant to the fealty, homage, and duties, owing to his majeſty; or, on the contrary, ſhould be acquitted and diſcharged from the ſaid fealty.

But the company renounced its right to this iſland in 1686; when by an arret of council of the 4th January of the ſame year, Madagaſcar was united to the crown.

It was upon this foundation that the company ſubſiſted, and was governed till 1719; at which time it was incorporated with the company of the weſt, known afterwards by the name of the Indian company.

In the month of April 1687, the number of directors was increaſed to twenty; which new directors were to pay for their reception 40,000 livres, if they had already 20,000 livres of actions in the company, and 60,000 livres, if they had no actions therein.

By this new form given to the company, its funds amounted to 2,100,000 livres, or about 104,000 l. ſterling; whereof the directors advanced 1,200,000, being 60,000 livres each, and the actioniſts about 900,000 livres.

It ſeemed, that, under theſe new directors, the company became ſomewhat vigorous; and, in effect, its commerce being proſperous, two dividends were

were made for its actionists in 1687 and 1691, amounting together to 30 per cent.

After 1691, its commerce was greatly interrupted by the war that followed the revolution in England, and that wherein France was engaged for the Spanish succession.

Immediately after the peace of Ryswick, the directors made more extraordinary efforts than ever before; but here may be properly dated the epocha of the company's fall, the war of 1700 having endangered it to such a degree, that when it was incorporated 19 years afterwards with the company of the west, its debts, contracted both in the kingdom and in the Indies, amounted to upwards of ten millions of livres, or about 500,000l. sterling.

It seems that, in 1701, the company having represented to the ministry its unhappy situation, obtained from his majesty a loan of 850,000 livres, provided that each of the directors would augment their fund to the amount of 40,000, and the actionists to 50 per cent.

The execution of these conditions caused great troubles among the directors and actionists; the former accepting them, and the latter refusing to execute them, notwithstanding two arrets of council, of the 21st February, and 16th May 1702, that authorised the result of the general assembly held the 24th January of the same year.

Lastly, in 1704, all contestations were terminated by an arret of council, of the 1st of April; which, notwithstanding all other arrets since that of the 16th of May 1702, ordained, that all the company's actionists should be interested in its commerce, both for the dividing of profits, and the sustaining of losses, each with regard to their fund, as well for the past, as for the time to come.

That

That to be acquainted with the state of the company's affairs, the directors should immediately, and above all things, give in the accompts of their commercial transactions.

That, for the future, the actionists need not be engaged in any new loans, unless the deliberations were signed by three actionists from among the five that should be nominated by them for the examination of the said accompts; and in case of refusal, the parties should refer the matter to the Sieur Pontchartrain, according to whose report his majesty would proceed to a decision.

This stating of accompts reviving the directors and actionists contestations, and the company's affairs being daily upon the decline; two arrets were issued out, one of the 6th, and the other of the 12th of November 1708.

The first arret ordained, that within two months time, a general assembly of the company's directors and actionists should he held, in presence of the *prevot de merchands*, to expedite whatever was necessary for the upholding and augmenting of the commerce of the said company, that his majesty might be in a condition to know what regulations should be made.

The second ordained the execution of the former, and superseded all pursuits, compulsions, and executions, upon the company's effects, on account of its debts, and upon the persons and goods of the directors. Yet the creditors might indemnify themselves in the council, and might make therein whatever demand they should judge proper; with a prohibition of endeavoring to obtain justice by any other means, upon pain of nullity.

But things being not disposed as yet, to erect a new East India company in France, and the ministry willing that the French should continue their com-

commerce there with some reputation, the court allowed the company's directors to treat with the rich traders of St. Malo, and to give up to them their privilege upon certain conditions: in whose hands it was that the French trade began to reflourish in the Indies, till this company was incorporated with that of the west in 1719.

It should be observed, that, for a considerable time, the East India company was allowed to share its privilege with others, through the hopes that the profits accruing from its treaties might be a support to its commerce, or at least that it might have wherewithal to pay in France the interests of so many bills, and the credit of renewing them.

The first of these treaties was of the 4th January 1698, with the Sieur Jourdan, and his associates, for the Chinese trade; the second with the Sieur Crozat, and his company, in the month of December 1708, authorised by an arret of the 15th of the same month.

By this last treaty, the directors of the company allowed the Sieur Crozat to send to the Indies, in the company's name, two ships, upon proviso that the company should have 15 per cent. from the sale of the effects brought back by these ships, without any deduction: as also 2 per cent. accruing from the prizes the said ships might make beyond the line; with liberty for the said company to bring back in these two ships, freight free, to the amount of ten ton of Indian goods; the company reserving for itself the duty of tonnage, as well going as coming, granted by his majesty; that is, the duty of 50 livres per ton of the merchandises exported by these ships into the countries of its concession, and 75 livres per ton for those brought back to be unladen in the country; which his majesty acceded to by way of gratification for the company.

The

The conditions of the treaty with Jourdan were much the ſame with thoſe of the Sieur Crozat.

Ponicherry, which the French uſually call Pontichery, or Pondicherry, is their chief Indian factory; the reſidence of the director-general of the company, and the center of their commerce: their other eſtabliſhments being only factories, where few clerks are left, very often but one, except that of Surat, which is pretty conſiderable.

The company ſecured Pondicherry in 1688, by a fort flanked with four towers; upon which was a battery of 24 pieces of cannon, with a good garriſon.

The Hollanders beſieged it in 1693, and took it after a long ſiege: during which the Sieur Martin, director-general, who, two years before, was complimented with letters of nobility from the king, and who was afterwards of the order of St. Michael, ſignalized himſelf greatly, and obtained for himſelf and his garriſon a very honorable capitulation, beſides ſeveral advantageous articles for the company.

Pondicherry was four years after reſtored to the French by the treaty of Ryſwick, and is, to this day, their chief eſtabliſhment in the Indies: but the Engliſh, in the year 1748, under the conduct of admiral Boſcawn, unſucceſsfully attempted the reduction of it. The commodities imported to France by the French Eaſt India company, are the ſame as thoſe imported into England by the Engliſh Eaſt India company.

Danish East India company. It is but of late that the Danes undertook long voyages, at leaſt for the Indies; their flags making no appearance in the gulph of Bengal, and about the coaſts of Pegu, till near the middle of the 17th century. Their chief factory is at Tranquebar, or Trincombar,

bar, where they send two or three ships yearly, and where they have a considerable fortress; but they have lately extended their trade to China, and appointed Altena, near Hamburgh, for the port where the East India commodities are to be unloaded, and public sales made of them.

Ostend East India company. As soon as the Spanish Netherlands were yielded to the emperor by the treaty of Rastadt, the merchants of Ostend, Antwerp, and some other towns of Flanders and Brabant, thought of reaping some advantage from the protection and power of their new master, for the establishment of their commerce in the East Indies.

Their first setting out was without authority and letters-patent; yet with the hopes, at their return, of being made a regular company, like the English, Dutch, and French.

But the infant commerce of this company was immediately troubled by the Dutch; who, the 19th of December 1718, took, upon the coasts of Africa, an Ostend vessel richly laden, though protected by a passport from the emperor.

Towards the end of the year 1719, the emperor allowed the directors to receive subscriptions, and began to encourage the subscription of actionists: he also granted a deduction of 2½ per cent. of all the duties accruing to him from the commodities imported by the company's ships, besides several other privileges they were made to expect; and, about the same time, he demanded satisfaction from the States-General for the seizure of the Ostend ship; but to no purpose, for the Dutch East India company seized another.

The merchants of Ostend, by commission from the emperor, fitted out privateers to protect their commerce, took a Dutch ship, would not make restitution,

restitution, and, in despight of the Hollanders menaces, fitted out for the East Indies in 1720 five ships richly laden, and in 1721 six more; three for China, one for Mocha, one for Surat and the coast of Malabar, and the sixth for Bengal; their principal station in the Indies being at Coblon, 56 miles N. of Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel.

THE Dutch, on their side, to stop their progress, confiscated a ship fitted out for the East Indies by the traders of Bruges, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the imperial minister at the Hague.

THE English pirates having taken, in the seas of Madagascar, an Ostend ship richly laden, and bound for Europe; this new loss seemed to discourage the Imperial company: but upon the safe arrival of four others, in 1722, it found itself in a condition, not only to repair its losses, but also to continue its commerce with more success and reputation.

AT last his imperial majesty granted this company his letters-patent, in a most ample and authentic manner; the duration of its concession being 30 years, its limits the East and West Indies, with all the coasts of Africa, both beyond and on this side the Cape of Good Hope; as also all the ports, harbors, places, and rivers, where other nations had any freedom of trade.

THE company's fund was fixed at six millions of guilders, or about 475,000 l. sterling, and at 6000 actions, of 1000 guilders each.

THE news of these letters-patent made the English and Dutch unite to obtain their revocation; and the Dutch East India company presented two memorials on this head to the states; in the latter whereof, of the 9th August 1723, a liberty of disputing their rights by the force of arms was required.

quired. The Ostend company founded themselves upon the natural liberty which all nations have of trading wherever it seems convenient, unless some particular convention might deprive them of it; and the Dutch pretended that there was such a convention between them and those of Ostend, specified by the treaties of barrier, and that of Munster.

The courts of London and Paris, whose subjects had been allowed, by treaty, to import silks into Germany, and the emperor's hereditary dominions, backed the remonstrances of the republic; and France thought it necessary to hinder her traders to interest themselves in this company; for which purpose the French monarch issued out a declaration, of the 16th August 1723, among other things, imposing a penalty of 3000 livres, a confiscation of all funds and effects in the said company, and three years banishment in case of a second offence; which example was followed in Great Britain.

The emperor, continuing his utmost efforts to support the new company, entered into a treaty with Spain in 1725, whereby the Spanish monarch engaged to allow greater advantages in trade to the Imperialists than to any other nation, particularly to the Ostend company. Whereupon the French insinuated, that there were still some further secret articles, much more prejudicial to the trade of Britain than those that appeared; which induced the British ministry to enter into an alliance with them, in opposition to that of Vienna; whereby the contracting parties guarantied their respective rights and privileges in relation to trade, which struck chiefly at the Ostend company; and the Dutch were afterwards induced to accede to this treaty, with a view to prevent the trade of this company

company to the Eaft Indies; while Great Britain commenced hoftilities againft Spain in the Weft Indies: fo that the emperor being prevailed on by the Dutch, who acted as mediators, to confent that the charter fhould be fufpended for feven years, preliminaries for a general peace were figned at Paris, in May 1727, between the allies of Vienna, and thofe of Hanover; fince which time, the Oftend company has never been revived.

East India company of Sweden. In the year 1730, a Dutchman, named Van Afper, who had projected the fame thing in Denmark, propofed the erecting of an Eaft India company in Sweden; which being approved of, the king took upon himfelf to be its protector; and when the Dutch, who apprehended this would be as prejudicial as the Oftend company had been to their trade, complained of it, they were given to underftand, that commerce was open to all nations, and that the Swedifh kingdom had an equal right to it with others; fince which time the Swedes have fent feveral fhips to the Indies; and have been fo fuccefsful in this trade, as to be under no neceffity of purchafing the merchandife of India from their European neighbors, as they formerly did, unlefs it be the fine fpices; which the Swedes, and all other nations, are obliged to purchafe of the Dutch, who have robbed the reft of the world of them, and confequently fet what prices they pleafe upon thofe commodities.

Embden East India, or Prussian Asiatic company. His Pruffian majefty, fenfible of the advantages refulting from a maritime intereft, granted in 1751 a patent for 20 years, to Henry Thomas Stuart, and company, for eftablifhing a Pruffian Afiatic company at Embden, an imperial city, and port-town of Germany, in the circle of Weftphalia;

Westphalia; empowering it to send an indefinite number of ships annually to Canton in China; which grant was solemnly registered; and such effectual means were concerted for the prosecution of the design, that the adventurers were perfectly satisfied; for his majesty not only issued his letters patent for making the port of Embden a free port, but ordered memorials to be presented to the maritime powers, and such other princes whose subjects traded to the East Indies, concerning the navigation of the ships belonging to the Embden company: upon which the States-General of the United Provinces declared, that his majesty's ships should have the same liberty as those of other nations, to trade to all the ports, except those which the Dutch East India company have the sole right of trading to: that they should be also at liberty even to put into those ports to refit, after bad weather, or to get provisions and water, in case they were in distress for them: but that, as the subjects of the Republic, employed in their India company, incur very severe penalties, by going into the service of any other power, they hoped his Prussian majesty would not permit such persons to sail in his ships to the East Indies, seeing, in such cases, the Dutch East India company could not avoid seizing them, and punishing them with the utmost rigor. The directors of this company resolved to send only two ships to China for the first year; and, upon the success of these, to regulate their future proceedings: accordingly one of their ships, called the king of Prussia, set sail from Embden on the 17th of February 1752; and as the other powers granted the same concessions with the Dutch, this company had more reason to expect a successful event than that of Ostend, which was circumvented by those very powers, who, in complaisance to his

Prussian majesty, granted to the Embden company what the emperor could never obtain for the other.

REMARKS.

ONE of the reasons why the Dutch East India company flourishes, and is become more rich and powerful than all the others, is its being absolute, and invested with a kind of sovereignty and dominion, more especially over the many ports, provinces, and colonies, it possesses in those parts. For it appoints magistrates, admirals, generals, and governors; sends and receives embassies from kings and sovereign princes; makes peace and war at pleasure; and by its own authority administers justice to all; appoints tribunals to judge in their name, with plenary power and no appeal; punishes and remits offences; bestows rewards becoming the dignity of kings; settles colonies, builds fortifications, levies troops, maintains numerous armies and garrisons, fits out fleets, and coins money. And though there is acknowledged a dependance upon the States-General, it may be said they seldom exert their power; and while the republic preserves the right of sovereignty, it tacitly leaves the exercise and possession of it to the merchants of this company. These vast powers were, and are still, requisite to cherish and preserve this flourishing branch of trade: and the proprietors justly merited them; for by their own vigilance, care, and expence, they conquered, and preserve all the countries they possess in those parts of Asia, and their fortresses on the coast of Africa for the refreshment, refitting and protection of their ships.

THE power of the Dutch by sea and land is very great in the East Indies; where, by force, address, and alliances, they raised themselves, and still support a great superiority, in spite of the English,

English, Portuguese, and other Europeans, that have some trade there; but so inconsiderable, that, all together, is not equal to what the Hollanders singly enjoy, and who could give law to the very English in 1662, obliging them to a peace very advantageous to Holland, and their East India company in particular, after a bloody and expensive war that arose from jealousy and rivalship in commerce. Therefore it may be for the advantage of England, France, and even Portugal, to tolerate and encourage other companies, from reasons of state, and self-preservation, which put all princes and republics upon reducing the power of such as aspire after universal dominion, or have already acquired it; as the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Medes, Persians, Greeks, and Romans did, and against whom those nearest to danger usually form conspiracies, courting even distant alliances to ballance the great and ambitious power that threatens them; and to reduce it to an equality, or even lower, that all may live secure, and confined within their own limits. If the power of the Dutch, though great in Europe, does not put princes and states upon their guard, they must possess a kind of universal monarchy or dominion in the southern provinces, islands, and seas of Asia, from Arabia to Japan; subjecting, by all possible ways, many of the powers of Europe to their law, in every thing respecting that important branch of trade; a thing which, beside the dishonor of it, very much interferes with their interest. For, in those parts, Holland commands and directs every thing at pleasure, bringing sovereigns under subjection, conquering or reducing large and plentiful provinces, after it laid the foundation of its empire upon the spoils of Portugal, and enlarged it by prescribing narrow limits to the jurisdiction and commerce of the

English, and disappointing or reducing that of the French and other Europeans. For this, and other reasons, good policy seems to suggest, that the English, French and Portuguese, interested and aggrieved, should unite, and not only tolerate, but encourage any proper new company, and receive it as an auxiliary and confederate power, to assist in humbling the pride of the Dutch, and weakening their universal dominion in the East Indies, that all may live independent, and not under a subjection that bears hard upon their honour and commerce.

The East Indies is a bottomless pit for bullion, which can never circulate back to Europe; and when bullion fails, that trade must cease. That this is the present situation of all the kingdoms of Europe, with respect to the trade which they carry on with the East Indies, is also asserted by the marquis Jerome Belloni, a celebrated merchant and banker at Rome; and this for no other reason, than that immense gulph of passive commerce, wherein they are involved by means of the commodities which the Europeans import from those parts. For, according to this author, not only the great quantities of jewels and manufactures, with the numberless liquors and spices, the greatest part whereof the luxury and pride of men have raised to high prices, render that trade so exorbitant, that the great advantage which the Europeans receive from America, and the great quantities of gold and silver, and other useful things, which are brought from thence, are not sufficient to compensate the loss sustained by that excessively expensive trade; but even the many commodities which come from the East Indies to Europe, and those inexpressibly vast sums of money, besides some few sorts of European commodities, which are

are exhaufted by the importation of thofe Eaft Indian goods, give juft ground to make it a queftion, whether the money that is brought from America to Europe is more confiderable, than that which is exported from Europe to the Eaft Indies.

THE baron de Montefquieu, in his "Spirit of Laws," fpeaking of the trade of Europe in general to the Eaft Indies, not only acknowledges this truth, but alfo gives reafons for it. "We at prefent, fays he, carry on the trade of the Indies merely by means of the filver we fend thither, which is exchanged for merchandifes brought to the weft. Every nation that ever traded to the Indies, has conftantly carried bullion, and brought merchandifes in return. It is nature itfelf that produces the effect. The Indians have their arts adapted to their manner of living. Our luxury cannot be theirs, nor their wants ours. Their climate hardly demands, or permits any thing which comes from ours. They go, in a great meafure, naked; fuch cloaths as they have, the country itfelf furnifhes; and their religion which is deeply rooted, gives them an averfion for thofe things that ferve for our nourifhment. Therefore they want nothing but our bullion, to ferve as the medium of value; and for which they give us in return merchandizes, with which the frugality of the people, and the nature of the country, furnifh them in great abundance."

CHAP. VIII.

Of ancient INDIA; *its inhabitants; their religion; government; and of the* BRACHMANS.

THE Greeks having heard that the southern Indians were black and swarthy, easily confounded them with the people of Ethiopia and of Colchis, and imagined that the first were a colony that had straggled from the east, as the Colchians were originally Ethiopian soldiers, whom Sesostris had left in that province to defend his conquests against the northern nations. Secondly, the Indies have ever been reckoned a country abounding in all sorts of riches; and we know that Colchis had its mines of gold, and that Ethiopia produced the same animals which are to be seen in the Indies. There needed no more than this conformity, to give occasion to authors little versed in geography, to confound together such remote countries as Colchis, Ethiopia, and the Indies.

WE have no real knowledge of the last, but of those provinces and cities through which the army of Alexander passed, and which Arrian has described with all possible exactness. The Hyphasis became the boundary of his conquests, on account of the opposition the Macedonians made to his farther progress. He only passed it, in order to erect those superb altars in imitation of the columns of Hercules. As we are indebted to the expedition of that hero, for what knowledge we have of this country, such as it then was, so we are entirely ignorant of all that existed beyond it to the Ganges. Arrian makes mention of two cities, Minnagora and Barygaxa, both which he celebrates

lebrated for their commerce. That vast extent of country, now so famous, which stretches from the junction of all those rivers to the Indus, even to the bottom of the peninsula, was as little known to the ancients. They mention only the kingdoms of the Sabraques of the Sogdes, of Musican, of the Preotes, of the Sabians, and that of Patala. Some of the inhabitants they called Indo-Scythians.

All that country had the name of India within the Ganges; *India intra Gangem*. It contained one hundred and eighteen nations or provinces, in some of which were three hundred cities, as in the kingdom of Porus; in others much fewer, and there were princes who reigned only over two. About forty rivers are said to run through this country, most of them navigable, and all of them throw themselves into the Indus. After swallowing up so many others, we may form a judgment of its bigness, by that of the Hydaspes, whose channel is never less than twenty stadia, or a great league. What then must a river be, in which so many others lose themselves?

Although the Indians are descended from Shem, whose posterity preserved the memory of the true God for a longer time than those of Ham and Japhet; yet the darkness which spread itself over every human mind, effaced the idea which the Creator had imprinted there; and they transferred their homage to the sun, the moon, to trees, and other sensible objects. The day-star had one of the most magnificent temples that ever was built: the walls were of porphiry, covered within with plates of gold, on which were carved rays, that shone diverging every way from whatever side they were beheld. In the bottom of the temple was a figure of the sun, composed of an infinite number of different sorts of precious stones, dis-

posed in a very artificial manner; and which one might have said came near the original; if it was possible to imitate that wonder of nature. They paid their adoration to that star by dancing in a circle, in imitation of its course. This was the only idol which the Indians had among them, till being instructed by the Greeks in the worship of the heroes of fabulous antiquity, they consecrated an elephant, which they called Ajax, with two golden statues of Alexander, and two brazen ones representing Porus. However great the number of those princes of ancient India might be, no historian has given us a succession of them, and we know but a small part of their laws and customs. They were all obliged to make their appearance every day, in order to hear the complaints of their subjects, to judge of all differences arising among them, and to regulate the affairs of the state; and they were not permitted to rise from the audience, even to take refreshment, before every thing was ended. They could do nothing without the advice of their council: but when more important affairs, or what related to religion, were under agitation, they were to consult the Brachmans, that is the sages, who again consulted the Augurs. The fidelity which they observed in their negociations was inviolable; and to express the sacredness of them, they gave their heralds the sign of an anchor, the symbol of their firmness and constancy.

In the kingdom of Musican, near the delta of the river Indus, luxury and effeminacy were carried to as great a height, as ever they had been among the Persians in the dregs of the last ages of their empire. The king was continually surrounded by a train of women, whose manners, actions, songs and conversation, inspired nothing but the most shameful pleasures.

One must be at a loss to understand, how, under princes so effeminate, so much order and discipline were nevertheless preserved in the state, that they were admired on that account by the most civilized foreign nations. But it must be remembered, that luxury was not predominant in all the courts. A wise senate presided over all the affairs of government: the numbers of it were chosen by the people: the king had only a voice in it; and, if that council was accused of error or injustice, the parties appealed to the people, who tried the cause afresh, and amended the sentence if necessary; in fine, the whole country was divided into seven classes, of which every one had its chiefs and superintendants, who restrained particulars within the bounds of their duty. The first of these classes was, that of the Brachmans, or Sages; the second of the husbandmen; the third, of the shepherds; the fourth, contained the merchants and tradesmen; the fifth, the soldiers; the sixth, the superintendants; and the seventh, the counsellors of the king and people.

The prince was distinguished above the Brachmans, by nothing but his sceptre and the pomp of his purple. Their continual application in the search of truth, the purity of their manners, the retirement and austerity in which they lived, had acquired them all the honors and immunities which the priests enjoyed among the Egyptians, or the Magi among the Persians. These sages were of two sorts; the Brachmans properly so called, and the Germani or Samaneans: the first were of a particular family, and the last might be of any of the other orders.

They taught philosophy, the immortality of the soul, the motions of the heavenly bodies, the construction of the human body, and the secrets

of

of nature. They discoursed of every thing relating to government, the laws, the authority of the prince, and the rights of the people; in a word, they gave rules for the conduct of manners, that they might learn to lead a hard and austere life, which neither famine, solitude, the inclemency of the air, nor the rigor of the seasons, should disturb or incommode.

They were seen to pass the greatest part of the night and day in prayer, in singing songs and hymns in honor of the deity, and raising their hands to heaven when they offered up their vows for the prince, the people, and the goods of the earth. During the rest of the day they kept themselves retired in their cells, where they were employed in meditation on particular truths, in the study of philosophy, and in making experiments useful to the public. If in that interval they happened to spend too much time in conversation with their friends, they imposed on themselves the penalty of keeping silence for several days. Fasting and mortification was another exercise to which they thought themselves obliged.

A life thus entirely taken up in prayer and contemplation, attracted the confidence of the people.

The prince applied himself to them in difficult and extraordinary cases, to learn from them in what manner he should give judgment. He went to the place of their abode; he eat with them herbs, fruits, and lentile; but nothing which had life; and the stateliness of those philosophers was such, that they drew lots for their places, that they might not yield to him the pre-eminence. He thought himself too happy if they gave him a gracious reception. They suffered him to stay with them no longer than a day, and it was only during the night that they gave him audience.

The last object of their philosophy respected the regulation of manners. They began their studies, as they said, by the knowledge of themselves, whether of the mind and dispositions, or of the body: but as their whole conduct manifested an inexhaustible fund of pride, their lights upon this point were turned into darkness. The result of their reflections upon themselves was to be persuaded, that out of their own sect there was nothing but ignorance, effeminacy, and corruption; to believe that nothing was concealed from them, not even the thoughts and name of a stranger; to pretend to inspiration from the deity and familiar conversation with him; to place themselves above the rest of mankind, and to look upon themselves as gods.

That pretended strength of mind to which philosophy carried them, rendered life and death equally indifferent. They looked upon the good or evil, the pleasure or pain which might happen to them, as dreams; since they passed so rapidly from one to the other. But they were ashamed of those distempers which brought a decay upon the body, and disturbed the operations of the mind, regarding this life as the first moment of our conception, and death as the day of our real birth.

When they found themselves attacked by a severe indisposition, or worn out with old age, without hesitation, they put an end to their days by a voluntary death. They fitted up with their own hands the pile that was to serve them as an altar: they ascended it decked with their richest ornaments; and after having sung a few hymns, they lay down upon their faces, and suffered themselves to be reduced to ashes, without betraying the least sign of pain or sensibility. What a strange philosophy

ſophy was that, which led men to their own deſtruction! "Equality, ſaid the Brachman Dindimus to Alexander the Great, places us all in independence; it baniſhes from among us envy, jealouſy, ambition and hatred. We have no tribunals, becauſe we do nothing which deſerves reprehenſion: and the juſtice in which we live, has not yet given riſe to the eſtabliſhment of the ſevere laws by which vice is puniſhed among the reſt of mankind. We are even afraid that by introducing them, they ſhould give birth to the thoughts of that evil which they prohibit. Our only law is, not to violate that of nature. Thus ſhunning all manner of reproach, we are not under any neceſſity to pardon others, in the hope we may be entitled to a mutual indulgence. Much leſs do we purchaſe pardon or impunity by the force of money; ſuch an act of grace granted through avarice, renders the judge more culpable than the criminal. Among us, idleneſs is ſeverely puniſhed; we dread voluptuouſneſs as the ſource of all frailty. We love labor; as it exerciſes our bodies; and we deteſt the man, who is a ſlave to his luſts. Our buſineſs has no other object but to procure us neceſſaries: we abhor every other view, and we look upon it as the original of all evil. No land-mark or boundaries are to be ſeen in our fields for the diſtinction of property: we are convinced that is an uſurpation contrary to nature; every one takes what he pleaſes of the products of the earth. We ſuffer the birds to fly unmoleſted, the beaſts to range the fields, and the fiſh to ſwim in the boſom of the waters. We poſſeſs all we can deſire, becauſe we deſire nothing beyond that which is neceſſary. We dread nothing ſo much as that inſatiable deſire to acquire property, which gives riſe to a thouſand cravings in the heart of man, and make him poorer from

day

day to day, in proportion to the increafe of his riches. The fun warms us; the rain and dew cool us; the rivers quench our thirft; the herbs and roots nourifh us; the earth affords us a bed: anxious cares interrupt not our repofe; independence delivers us from fear, and all kinds of fubjection; and we look upon one another as brothers whom nature has rendered equal, and as the children of one fupreme God, our common Father, who ought to make us partakers of the fame inheritance. The heavens fupply us with our favorite fpectacle: we admire with joy their order, œconomy, regularity, and motions. We are tranfported when we behold the fun flying in its purple car, fpreading through every region his beaming rays of light, and returning every year to the place from whence he departed. From the heavens we pafs to the view of nature, whofe works appear to us equally beautiful, admirable and incomprehenfible. The finging of the birds, the fountains, a flower, the ftalk of an herb, ravifhes and afford an inexhauftible fund of reflection. Contented with the natural growth of our own country, we wander not elfewhere in fearch of the different rarities which an unknown fky and climate produce. Nothing affects us but that which is convenient for us. We defpife the flowers of eloquence, and condemn it as a pernicious art, only made ufe of to give falfhood the appearance of truth to fcreen villainy, accufe innocence, and fometimes juftify parricide. All our eloquence confifts in being fincere, and adhering ftrictly to truth."

This is an abridgment of their manners; and here follow the articles of their belief. The Brachmans held it as a maxim, " never to defile their facrifices with blood, by flaughtering innocent victims: they adorned not their temples with gold or

filver,

silver, or the splendor of precious stones. They thought it would be insulting the deity, should they attempt to give him that which he does not want; or to shew themselves as powerful as he, in ostentatiously displaying all the riches which he could have. God requires that we should honor him with a pure and not a bloody worship; and to be rendered propitious by the prayers and humiliations of men: he is that word itself by which he has created the visible world, by which he preserves, governs, and keeps it in being. He is a pure spirit, and consequently requires nothing but the offering of our good works, of our virtues and virtuous actions."

This country was liable to the same innundations with Egypt, and perhaps they were here more considerable. Whether from the snow of Paropamisa, Caucasus, mount Imaus, and the Emodes, or from the great quantity of rains that fell in the months of April, May, and June, it is certain, in that season the country was covered with water; and after they had gone off, it was difficult to distinguish the limits which divided the lands of each individual. To prevent disputes which might thence arise, there were men in all the districts, perfectly well acquainted with those matters, who marked over again those limits of the fields that had been effaced. As they preserve in Egypt a part of these waters in great lakes, to spread them afterwards over the land during those months in which there were no rains; it was the office of these inspectors to open these repositaries when necessary, and distribute the waters in sufficient quantity.

CHAP. IX.

Of the ancient revolutions in INDIA, *from the conquests of* BACCHUS *to those of* ALEXANDER *the* GREAT. *Of the settlement of the* MAHOMEDANS *in* India: *and of the* MOGUL *government. Of the climate of* India, *and its present inhabitants. With some remarks relative to trade.*

IT is certain, that the government of India was always monarchical; that the kings were more numerous there than in any nation of the world; and that some of them had acquired an empire over the rest. But we have no native writers of the country, who have given a succession of their ancient kings; so that it is not surprising it should be entirely unknown to us. Pliny, who had before him different relations, informs us, that the Indians reckoned one hundred and fifty three kings from the invasion of Bacchus to that of Alexander, which were two memorable æras. This number of sovereigns, however, become suspicious, by the exaggeration of the interval which it places between the two conquerors, in reckoning upwards of six thousand four hundred years; unless their years, at least in the primeval ages, were much shorter than ours, as they were among the ancient Egyptians.

FOR want of better lights, we must have recourse to some remarkable revolutions, which occasioned changes in the government of the western part of India. This country has always been the object of emulation to the heroes of Asia, Egypt, and Greece. Ancient tradition informs us, that Bacchus and Hercules carried their arms thither; but as there were several conquerors of that name, authors differ about those who penetrated first into the

the Indies; and after long disquisitions, they leave us in the utmost uncertainties and difficulties upon that point. Yet it appears, that this Bacchus was the son of Semele; though we can decide nothing about Hercules.

Although Arrian calls in question the expedition of Sesostris into these remote provinces, it is so formally attested by others, that we cannot refuse assent to their testimony. Indeed, it was attended with no consequence as to government, that prince not having rendered those nations tributary whom he had subdued, but resting contented with having brought them under his power: nor did his successors even attempt to preserve his conquests. But the expedition of Darius the son of Hystaspes was attended with more real consequences. Confounded at his bad success in the desarts of Scythia, he turned his arms against the Indians, whose country he entered by surprise, reduced them to his obedience, and imposed a large tribute upon the inhabitants, whom he obliged to serve as vassals, and in that quality we find them in the musters of the armies of Xerxes, Ochus, and Darius Codomannus, the last of that monarchy.

It is probable the son of Hystaspes carried his conquests no farther than the river Indus; but Alexander extended his to the Hyphasis, where his troops refused to follow him any farther, and obliged him to return into Persia.

The northern nations of India, although idolaters, were easily induced to embrace Mahomedanism, and are at this day the Affghams or Patans, who figure so much in all the late revolutions of Delhi.

The armies which made the first conquests for the heads of the respective dynasties, or for other incursors, left behind them numbers of the Mahomedans,

homedans, who, seduced by a finer climate and a richer country, forgot their own.

The Mahomedan princes of India naturally gave a preference to the service of their own religion; who, from whatever country they came, were of a more vigorous constitution than the stoutest of the subjected nation; this preference has continually encouraged adventurers from Tartary, Persia, and Arabia, to seek their fortunes under a government, from which they were sure of receiving greater encouragement than they could expect at home.

From these origins, time has formed in India a mighty nation of near ten millions of Mahomedans, whom Europeans call Moors: to them, under the authority of the Great Mogul, the greatest part of Indostan is now subject; but although the reigning nation, they are out-numbered by the Indians ten to one.

This inferiority of number has obliged the Mahomedans to leave, in all parts of Indostan, many Indian princes in possession of their respective sovereignties, which they are permitted to govern without molestation, on condition they pay the stipulated tribute, and do not infringe any other of the articles of the treaties by which they or their ancestors have acknowledged the sovereignty of the Great Mogul. These Indian princes are called Rajas, or kings; and more than one half of the empire is at this day subject to these princes.

Besides the Indians, who reside in the territories of the Rajas, there are every where seen great numbers of them in those parts of the country, which are immediately subject to the Great Mogul, without the interposition of an Indian prince to govern them. They are the only cultivators of the land, and the only manufacturers of the im-

 mense

menſe quantities of linen which are made in the empire; inſomuch, that at a diſtance from the capital cities, the great trading towns, the encampments of armies, and the high roads, it is rare to ſee in the villages or fields a Mahomedan employed in any thing excepting levying contributions, or acting in ſome other reſpect as an officer of the Great Mogul.

INTELLIGENT enquirers aſſert, that there are no written laws among the Indians; but that a few maxims, tranſmitted by tradition, ſupply the place of ſuch a code in the diſcuſſion of civil cauſes; and that the ancient practice, corrected on particular occaſions by the good ſenſe of the judge, decides abſolutely in criminal ones. In all caſes derived from the relations of blood, the Indian is worthy to be truſted with the greateſt confidence; but in caſes of property, in which this relation does not exiſt, as a cunning ſubtil people, they are perpetually in diſputes; and for the want of a written code, the juſtice or injuſtice of the deciſion depends on the integrity or venality of the judge. Hence the parties prefer to ſubmit their cauſe to the deciſion of arbitrators choſen by themſelves, rather than to that of the officers appointed by the government.

THE feudatory, by the acceptance of a certain title, and the penſion which accompanies it, acknowledges the great Mogul his heir. No man, from the vizier downwards, has any truſt of importance repoſed in him, but on theſe terms; and, on his deceaſe, the whole of his property that can be found is ſeized for the uſe of the emperor, who gives back to the family what portion he pleaſes.

IN theſe climates the name of ſnow and froſt is entirely unknown: the trees are never without leaves, and the fruit and bloſſoms alternately ſucceed

ceed each other: but here, as in other countries lying between the tropics, is a dry and wet ſeaſon.

With the month of January returns the heat, which is cooled by breezes of the ſea. The month of February is more hot, dry and unhealthful. In March the winds cool a little the ſcorching heat of the ſun. April is ſtill hotter, and in the months of May and June is a fine ſeaſon; but in which there blows a noxious land breeze, from ſeven in the morning till noon, as hot as the air of a furnace, which the ſtrongeſt conſtitution has enough to do to bear, and Europeans can hardly at all. Some cauſe themſelves to be ſprinkled over from morning till night, to cool the ſcorching heat. Here the nights are as unhealthful as the days. It is no uncommon thing to ſee perſons riſe paralytic, who had laid down in perfect health, in a place expoſed to the evening damps. Such a ſeaſon would deſtroy the fruits of the earth, if amidſt the heats of the month of June, the waters which riſe in the mountains of Gad, did not gradually ſwell. They are at their height in July, at which time the air becomes temperate.

The autumn is the winter of Malabar, which is as moderate as our ſpring. It rains, it is true, very much; but all is green after the ſcorching heat of ſummer is over. The trees bloſſom in September, in which month and in October, is the firſt gathering of fruit, when the air is both cool and perfumed, occaſioned by the aromatic plants in bloſſom, and commonly Europeans find this ſeaſon the moſt healthful. The ſick, indeed, eſpecially hypochondriacs, are principally moſt affected in the months of November and December, when the cold and rains are at their height. In theſe months the Malabares, who go almoſt naked, ſhiver with cold, againſt which they do not know how to ſhelter themſelves, either by cloaths,

or by burning wood, a very ſcarce commodity in this country, where they uſe little elſe, even in their kitchens, than dry cow dung. They are chilly in the ſame degree of heat, in which no Europeans can hardly bear to be covered.

The ſoil is fertile almoſt throughout, occaſioned by the overflowing of the rivers, as Egypt is by that of the Nile. When the heat is moſt intenſe the rivers ſwell, which is apparently occaſioned by the melting of the ſnow in the mountains where they riſe: for the warmeſt climates, as the iſle of St. Thomas and upper Ethiopia, have Alps covered with ſnow and ice. Then the farmers open their ſluices, and each turns his part of the river on his rice grounds. If the rivers fail, the country is all a barren wilderneſs, and the natives die, by thouſands, of famine. This diſaſter is often occaſioned by the animoſities among themſelves, which hinder them from keeping their ſluices in repair.

Here the air is very ſuffocating, and iron ruſts ten times more than in Europe. The ſun gives a ſtronger light at noon than the eyes can bear; even the ſtars ſhine brighter, and Venus has a very ſenſible ſhadow. The twilight is very ſhort, and day and night appear almoſt at the ſame time. Before rain and fog there is commonly heard a hollow but very ſtrong noiſe proceeding from the ſea. There are often ſeen fiery meteors, reſembling comets, but much lower in the air, through which they traverſe very ſwiftly. The winds are ſo ſtrong as to throw down houſes and pluck up trees by the roots; and ſhould any of theſe hurricanes overtake a man in the fields, he muſt lay himſelf along upon the ground.

The natural color of the inhabitants is black: but the Bramins, and generally the Morattoes, are yellowiſh, little differing from a tawniſh Portugueſe.

The

The chief plant in Malabar is rice, by which alone almost the bulk of the people are maintained; it serves for bread even to the rich, as corn does not come to perfection. Their agriculture almost solely consists in the culture of rice, which is reckoned an honorable occupation, and such as follow it have precedence of mechanics. It is sown in the month of June, in a soil that is a mere puddle, occasioned by the overflowing of the rivers on their grounds. When it is a hand high they take it up, and replant it in just such another soil. Their harvest is gathered in the beginning of winter. Their plough is a very simple machine, and a branchy bough serves for a harrow. When the rice is dry, it is boiled in water or milk, which they eat heartily. They use another method, by distilling it and extracting an aqua vitæ, which administers to the debaucheries of Europeans: for the natives abhor excessive drinking, which must shorten life, by super-adding a new fire to that of the climate.

It is to be understood, that the English East India company have the sole monopoly of trading to the east of the Cape of Good Hope: but this is a very large and uncertain description of their bounds; for as the world is round, they might go to the east of the Cape of Good Hope if no land intervened, till they came unto it again; and at that rate, Chili, Peru, and other parts of America, would be within their monopoly. Therefore this must certainly be a vulgar error, and there must be other bounds prescribed by the charter; which probably does not extend to the Molucca islands, the spice islands, or the Philippines; for I do not find that, since the act of parliament, the company ever traded to any of those places; and yet the advantage would be very great.

We

We may therefore suppose, their monopoly does not extend to New Guiney, New Britain, the isle Sabada, and other islands which captain Dampier sailed round in one of the men of war, and on which he landed about the year 1700, and where he met with gold, nutmegs, and other valuable things. For the same reason one also might suppose, that Corea and Japan are not within the company's charter, because they never traded to either of them, since the act of parliament.

These various regions afford the richest commodities, gold, jewels, spices, pearls, and drugs, of the most valuable kind. The East India trade is of such consequence, that the highest regard should be paid to it: for if this trade was enlarged, it would encrease such a demand for woollen goods, iron ware, and every other branch of business in England, as would employ all the manufacturers, who are now starving, and thereby relieve the poor.

This might be demonstrated, by the many places that are not yet traded to by the English. The company trades in the Red Sea but to one port, that is, Moca; but the Abyssinian empire, or Ethiopia, which lies on the west side of that sea, is not attempted to be traded to, although it is inhabitated by christians, and abounding with gold, myrrh, sena, alloes, avit, and numbers of rich dying and medicinal drugs, with other commodities. They have no iron nor woollen goods, but what are carried to them over land from Egypt or Turkey, and are mostly manufactured by the French, or at Damascus.

The company doth not trade to Siam, a rich and great kingdom; nor to Pegu, a kingdom that produces rubies, gum-lac, gum-dragon, and all the materials of the fine Indian varnish: the

the inhabitants are very induſtrious, and great trade might be made there. Tonquin is alſo a kingdom full of induſtrious people; and the kingdom of Cochin-China would give vent to a great number of commodities. The kingdom of Corea, and the empire of Japan, are included among the richeſt in the world; yet with theſe our Eaſt India company have no commerce; though thoſe countries abound in raw-ſilk, gold, ſilver, ſpice-goods, tea, porcelain, Japan, and other things fit for European markets. Thoſe many ſpice iſlands unpoſſeſſed by the Dutch, and ſome of the Philippines unſubjected by the Spaniards, are a glorious field of induſtry for the Engliſh; numbers of adventurers might make their fortunes by ſuch a trade; hundreds of ſhips be employed; and immenſe ſums brought home in gold, ſilver, and rich goods in payment for our manufactures.

It is neceſſary for us to think of theſe things; for if we do not, other nations will!

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

APPENDIX.

A Journal from Aleppo, *over the Desart to* Basserah, October 21, 1771.

AT two this afternoon took my departure from Aleppo for Basserah, in company with signior Andrea Johanna, when directing our course nearly S. S. E. ¾ E, at sun-set arrived at Tilleran, a small Turkish village, where we joined the caravan, which was encamped near that place. The wind westerly, with dark cloudy weather; the night cold, with drizzling rain.

22d.

This morning at eight mounted my camel, for the first time, his magnitude seemed highly disgusted with my hat, and twice ran away with me from the caravan, but was soon satisfied with this sport.

From Tilleran, directing our course about S. E. by S. an hour and a half brought us to *Indabab* (*i. e.* Golden Water, a small village on the south side of the road; the houses are small, and resemble sugar-loaves: on the north side of the road is an artificial mount, which seems to have been raised for the defence of the water. The land hereabouts is a fine black soil, mostly arable.

Thence continuing a S. E. by S. course, 35 minutes, came to Sphera, a small village south of the road; on the north-side are two large fountains of good clear water, near the foot of an

artificial mount, on the top of which is a building resembling a tomb.

From this place travelling S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. in two hours and a half came to Geboul, which lies on the south-side of the road; it appears to have been a more considerable village than any of the former, but is now almost in ruins. At a small distance to the N. E. is seen the valley of Salt, which supplies all the country with that commodity. Continuing our march four hours and a half came to Hagla, and encamped, the camel's motion very disagreeable.

23d.

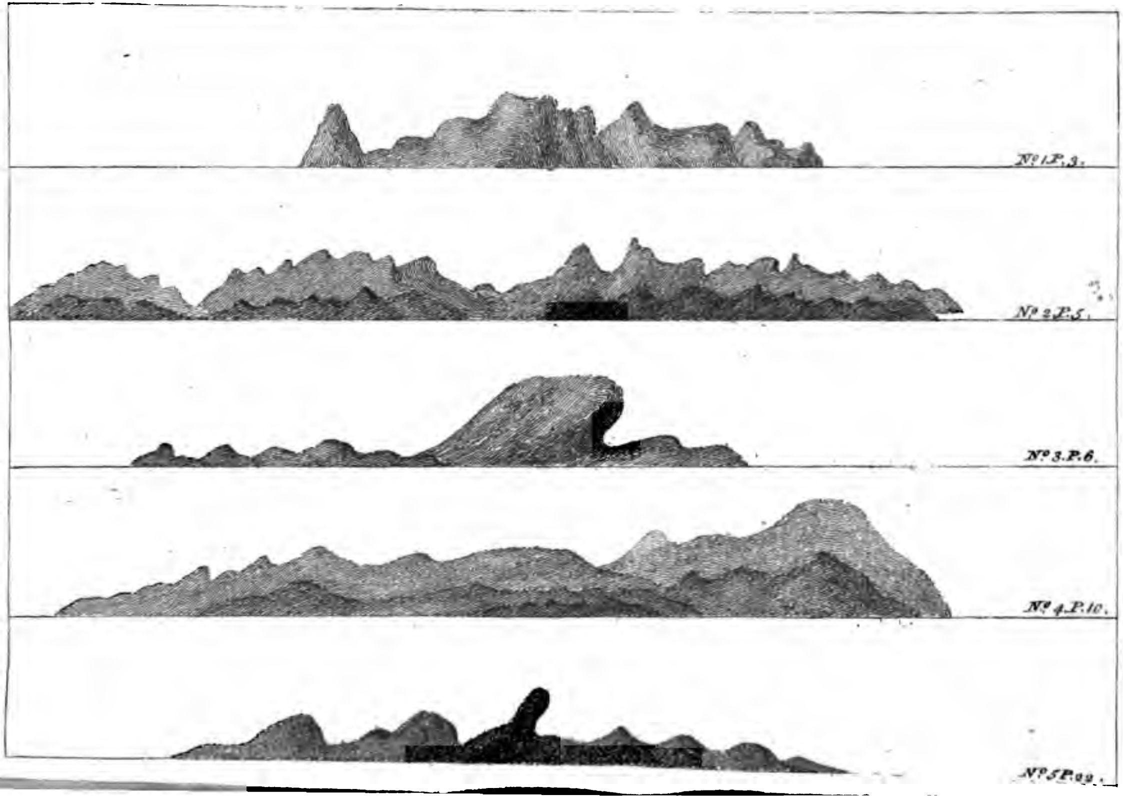
The caravan continued here all day, preparing for a regular march; the wind easterly and fresh, with dark cloudy weather; it rained hard all night, which made our lodging but uncomfortable.

24th.

The tents and baggage being made very heavy by the rain which fell in the night, we were forced to defer our departure till they were dry. I took this opportunity to visit a valley at the end of a range of hills to the northward, which terminate at Hagla, where I found several wells about twelve feet deep, built round with stone, the water very indifferent; notwithstanding which there seems, by the many remaining foundations, to have been formerly a large town here; there are also many squared stones standing perpendicularly, like those usually erected over graves, but I saw no inscriptions.

The Arabs report, that there are many black scorpions among these ruins; for which reason we encamped at a distance; the night dark, cold and rainy, with a fresh easterly gale.

Names


No 1. P. 3.
No 2. P. 5.
No 3. P. 6.
No 4. P. 10.
No 5. P. 22.

Names of the remarkable places in the rout of the caravan.

	Courses.	Tim. Mar. Hours	Min.
From Aleppo to Tilleran	S. S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	4	
From Tilleran to Indahab	S. E. by S.	1	30
From Indahab to Sphera	S. E. by S.		35
From Sphera to Geboul	S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	2	30
From Geboul to Hagla	S. E.	2	
From Aleppo to Hagla		11.	5

25th.

Mounted this morning at eight. Directing our way over hard ſtony ground, in two hours and a half came to a ſteep deſcent, where a camel breaking his leg, was immediately butchered for an Arab feaſt. Here the hills on the right-hand begin to decline, and tending more to the ſouthward, at the diſtance of about two miles, terminate on the plain. On the north-ſide of the road are many foundations of buildings, and ſeveral heaps of ſtones collected together, by which it appears, that this country was formerly well peopled and cultivated.

Kept S. S. E. one hour over the ſouth end of the valley of Salt, which is a hard ſandy ſoil quite level; then turned E. S. E. two hours, and at half paſt one in the afternoon encamped on the plain. The extreams of the high land Lahauz bearing S. E. by S. and S. W. by W. Theſe hills are very remarkable, being about three miles in length from N. W. to S. E. their appearance is as here repreſented.

The Arabs ſaid, there was water in the ruins of two old caſtles in theſe hills; but as they did not mention it in time, I had no opportunity of viſiting

ſiting them. Lahauz (*i. e.* Diſcovery) is a very proper name for theſe heighths, being finely ſituated for the diſtant diſcovery of the march of an army, or caravan, either on the plain or deſart.

Here it may be neceſſary (having before omited it) to mention the ſtrength and number of the caravan. It conſiſted of thirty-three Chriſtians, merchants and paſſengers, ſeven Jews, and about twenty Turks, with Sheik Mahauſon, our conductor, and an eſcort of 240 Arab ſoldiers under his command. Fifty horſes, thirty mules, and about twelve hundred camels, ſix hundred of which were laden with merchandize, chiefly belonging to the Chriſtians and Jews; amounting in value to near three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; the remainder were either ridden, or loaded with proviſions.

26th.

Mounted this morning at ſun-riſe, directing our courſe S. E. by E. After a march of nine hours and a half arrived a little after four at Auro il Arauneb; *i. e.* the country of Hares, where we encamped. The ſurface of the earth all this day was covered with a white ſcurf; which reminded me of the manna gathered by the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs; at firſt I took it for ſalt, but on taſting, found it only a kind of alcala, drawn from the earth by the heat of the ſun. I have already had reaſon to obſerve, that the Arabs were a little too ready to find things before they are loſt; yeſterday my handkerchief was conveyed away, and this evening they ſtole my blanket. A ſmall breeze from N. W. all day, with pleaſant weather; the night froſty.

27th.

This morning at ſun-riſe we mounted, our courſe was S. E. ½ E. to S. E. by E. or to take it on a medium

dium S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. for eight hours and $\frac{1}{2}$; at a little after three we encamped on the plain at Tilliam Lack (*i. e.* look out ſharp.) Pleaſant weather, with a breeze at N. W. The night cold, and inclining to froſt. No water.

28th.

This morning by looking out ſharp got coffee for breakfaſt, which with a little bread ſerved me the whole day.

Having ſuffered much laſt night (which was very cold) from the want of my blanket, I thought of the following ſtratagem to recover it. I entered into converſation with the Arabs on the ſubject of my loſs, and took occaſion to mention how highly they were celebrated by travellers for their honeſty; which made me conclude, that my blanket had been taken away by ſome miſtake, and would be returned as ſoon as the error was diſcovered. This had the deſired effect; the Arab who had it, fearful for the national honour, returned it, pretending he had found it on a camel. On the recovery of my property, I complimented the thief on his not deviating from the integrity of his countrymen. We ſet out early this morning, and marched S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. nine hours; at half paſt three in the afternoon encamped near the Jabian mountains; the weather fair, with a ſmall breeze at eaſt.

From Lahauz to this place the country is perfectly level, and the ſoil ſandy. There are great plenty of hares, whoſe holes or burrows, of which the ground is, as full as a warren, made it very troubleſome to the camels; the mountains of Jabia run from the N. E. to S. W. and in a clear morning appear as in the view, No.

29th.

Set forwards at ſun-riſe; after travelling S. E. ¼ E. thirty minutes, came to ſome riſing ground, which to avoid we kept S. S. E. half an hour, when a ſteep deſcent made us decline S. ¼ E. for another half hour; from thence through a valley S. E. one hour and a half, and then ſhifted our courſe to S. E. ¼ E. in which direction we marched two hours, and about noon arrived at Ain il Kom, or the Fountain of War, where we encamped on a riſing ground round a large ſpring of mineral water, from which iſſues near four tons an hour; it is blood warm, has a good taſte, and is of an excellent quality. At about a hundred yards S. W. of this ſpring is an artificial mount, near two hundred feet high, raiſed for its defence. The mount bearing S. by E. at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, it appears as in No. A is the place of the ſpring.

We ſaw a great quantity of cellery about this fountain or ſpring, and many large buſhes on the deſart, which were the firſt we met with ſince our departure from Hagla. From the mount, I could plainly perceive with my glaſs the ruins of Tibia, bearing ſouth, diſtant about five miles. There ſtill remains a large tower ſtanding, ſurrounded with many ruins of great buildings. I alſo obſerved a hill, which appeared to have been fortified; from theſe circumſtances, as well as its ſituation, believe Tibia was formerly very ſtrong.

I offered an Arab a chequeen to accompany me thither, but he demanding three, I relinquiſhed my intention.

There is a noble ſubterranean aquaduct cut thro' the rock, which conveys the water from this ſpring to Guſſerah Sawye, a large old fort, at the entrance of this paſs, ten miles to the ſouthward,

on

on the other ſide of the mountains. This was a prodigious undertaking, and teſtifies the former importance of this place.

30th.

There being plenty of proper food for our camels, and the water good, we halted here this day, in order to lay in a proper ſtore of that element, as we could not expect to meet with much more on our propoſed route, the rainy ſeaſon being but juſt commenced.

I fancy Bear is only fifteen miles N. E. from hence, and imagine it to be the ſame place mentioned in Judges ix. 21.

A little to the ſouthward of this place is a large croſs road, running from E. N. E. to W. S. W. which ſeems to paſs from Bear Urſa in Meſopotamia to Jeruſalem Damaſcus, Tyre Tripoly, and other places of note on the ſea coaſts, and S. W. parts of Syria; and this being likewiſe the paſs from Perſia and Chaldea to the north of Syria and Leſſer Aſia, a conſtant garriſon was kept at this fort; whence the neceſſity of this grand aquaduct is evident, more particularly as this was probably the way by which thoſe numerous armies, mentioned both in ſacred and prophane hiſtory, marched from Babylon and other places of the eaſt.

About eight miles from Tibia is the ruins of Sachne (*i. e.* Hot Water) another antient city, ſo named from a ſpring of exceſſive hot water, which iſſues from a mountain there.

Forty miles S. W. of Tibia ſtands the magnificent ruins of the once great and famous city of Jadmor, which with great probability is thought to be the ſame ſpoken of in 1 Kings ix. 18. and 2 Chron. viii. 4. I am the more confirmed in this opinion, as, except this and the two places whoſe ruins are already mentioned, I could not hear of

the leaſt appearance of any other; beſides, there ſeems no where in the deſart, unleſs near theſe mountains, a ſufficiency of water for a large city.

At a ſmall diſtance from Jadmor is a village of ſalt, thought to be that mentioned 2 Sam. 8th and 13th verſes; where David defeated the Syrians. If this be admitted, then Tibia and Sackne are probably the ancient cities of Tibhath and Chun, 1 Chron. xviii. 8. From whence David brought that great quantity of braſs, with which Solomon made the Brazen ſea, Pillar, and other works of the Temple. My reaſons for theſe opinions are founded on the ſeveral paſſages in the Old Teſtament, as well as on the ſimilarity in the ſound of Tibia and Tibhath.

Places names in the carav. route.	Courſes.	H.	Min.
From Hagla to Lahauz,	S. E. by S.	2	30
	S. S. E.	1	
	E. S. E.	1	
Lahang to Auro il Aruneb,	S. E. by E.	9	30
Auro il Aruneb to Tellemac,	S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	8	30
Tillemlack to the Tiebran mountains,	S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	9	
Tiebran mountains to Air il Kom.	S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	2	30
	S. S. E.		30
	S. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.		30
	S. E.	1	30
Hagla to Air il Kom.		37	30

By the aforeſaid calculation for Air il Kom, and eſtimating the diſtance to Tibia S. by W. five miles, and that Tadmor is S. W. from hence twenty hours of a caravan. I then compute that Tiaba is ſituated in

		°	′	
Lat. by account and eſtimate		35	15	No.
Long. a merid. of	Aleppo	1	11	E.
	London	38	45	

Jadmor

Jadmor is situated in ° ″
Lat. by account and estimat. 38 52 N.
Long. a merid. { Aleppo 00 37 / London 38 11 } E.

Having neither books, maps, or tables of latitude and longitude, I am consequently obliged to rely on my memory; from which I think Jerusalem is situate about 32° 30′ N. latitude, nearly 35° 00′ east of London. This being admitted, Jerusalem is only 250 miles S. W. from Tibia, and 200 S. W. from Tadmor.

31st.

Mounted this morning at sun-rise, marching S. E. ¾ S. one hour, we had a fair view of the ruins of Tibia, which are at present entirely deserted.

Thence moved S. E. ¼ E. two hours and a half, and S. E. ¼ S. one hour, through a fine and large valley, between the mountains, and came to Gusserah Swaye, *i. e.* the palace of Swaye, a large old fortress, on the south-side of the mountains, and at the entrance of the pass, which is here only about a mile wide, with steep hills on either side.

This valley is about fifteen miles long, and at Tibia eight or ten broad. The soil is good, and was formerly well watered by the aquaduct, which I before mentioned; and which I had now an opportunity of examining. It is arched over, and at proper distances had receivers with wells over them to draw water; many of which still are to be seen, but all defaced and ruined. At these places I observed great quantities of jepsing, a kind of sparry matter, resembling the chrystals of nitre. It only appeared about the aquaduct where the water was stopped, or on the desart where mineral water had been spilt, on the hot sand. The A-

rabs

'rabs say, there is an inscription in Gusserah Swayeagee to this purport, we filled this Gusserah (or palace) with figs.

About an hour S. W. are the ruins of Sackne, on the south side the mountains. I had not time to visit the old fortress, being situated on the west-side of the pass, and my cameler keeping on the east.

The rocks on this side the pass are very white, and seem to be a kind of alabaster.

Thence directing our course S. E. by E. ¼ E. two hours and a half, over a dry sandy soil quite level, encamped at two on the plain at Geboul Busheir, from whence the south-side of the Tibean mountains appear; a clear evening as in No. No water.

November 1.

Decamped this morning, travelling between S. E. and E. S. E. I allow the medium S. E. by E. nine hours; and about three in the afternoon encamped. We met with no water here, the country sandy, and quite level; a small breeze from N. W. all day, with cloudy weather; the night cold; the point of the black mountains at Sackne N. W. by W. ½ W. distance about nine leagues.

2d.

Marched at sun-rise, proceeding E. S. E. seven hours, over a hard soil, full of small stones, and quite level; came then to a small descent, from whence kept E. by S. ¾ E. three hours, till near sun-set, when we encamped. A small breeze from east all day, with pleasant weather; night cool. No water.

3d.

Decamped at ſun-riſe, courſe E. by S. four hours and ten minutes; at eleven encamped at Jeul il-Ganam (*i. e.* the Sheeps Pool) a low ſandy bottom, where there are ſeveral wells, or rather holes in the ſand, about ten feet deep, from whence they draw a kind of mineral water, but much inferior to that of Ain il Kom. Near theſe wells where water had been ſpilt is abundance of jepſing, which looks very pretty, glittering in the ſun like glaſs; it has a rough pungent taſte, and might probably produce allum, if the proper means were made uſe of.

Here we found a wounded man; he ſaid he had remained eight days in that condition, without nouriſhment of any kind. Indeed he appeared almoſt ſpent. There were alſo ſeveral dead bodies thrown into the wells; after taking ſome refreſhment, he gave us the following relation.

Two parties of Arabs who were enemies, chancing to meet eight days ago at Jeub il Ganam, they had an obſtinate engagement, in which many were killed and wounded on both ſides; at length they parted, as it were by conſent. The one party ſtanding to the northward, the other towards the ſouth; they left this man, ſuppoſing him dead.

We had reaſon to ſuſpect they both came with the intent of plundering the caravan, which we eſcaped by this unexpected meeting, when they vented their rage and diſappointment on each other. On account of this lucky eſcape, the Arabs killed a camel for a feſtival of joy. There are a few buſhes here, but no appearance of any antient or other buildings. I was told, that the city of Rackba is about nine hours E. N. E. from this place, wherefore ſhall calculate the ſituation of Jubil Ganam to gueſs at Rackba.

Names

Names of Places in the Carav. route,	Courſes.	H.	Min.
From Ain il Kom to Guſſerah Swaygee,	S. E. ¼ E.	1	
	S. E. ½ E.	2	30
Guſſerah Swaygee to Geboul Buſsheir,	S. E. ¼ S.	1	
	S.EbyE¾E	2	30
Geboul Buſsheir to Jabil Ganam,	S. E. by E	9	
	E. S. E.	7	
	E. ¼ S.	3	
	E. by S.	4	10
Ain il Kom to Jabil Ganam is		30	10
Aleppo to Ain il Kom was		48	55
Aleppo to Jabil Ganam is		78	45

Rackba is ſituate in				
	Lat. by acct. and eſtimat.		34 34	N.
	Long. a merid. of	Aleppo	2 29	E.
		London	40 03	

Rackba is ſtill a large place, but much inferior to its ancient condition.

Indeed this country affords a melancholy proof of the inſtability of human affairs, when it is remembered, that of the part adjacent to the river Euphrates, and within the compaſs of thirty miles there were formerly not leſs than three hundred and fifty cities, towns, and villages, of whoſe ruins ſcarce a ſingle trace at this time remains.

4th.

Mounted this morning at forty minutes paſt ſeven, E. E. ¼ E. three hours and a half; came then to Batton Swab, *i. e.* Gathering of Water, which ſeems in the rainy ſeaſon to be a large river; but it is now dry; from thence kept S. E. ¾ E. four hours.

hours. At ten minutes after three encamped on a fine ſoil, where we found plenty of food for our camels.

Our march was delayed till the return of ſome ſpies ſent to Jabil Ganam the next water, in order to reconnoitre.

A freſh breeze in the morning. The night cool and agreeable. The country in this day's march not ſo level as in ſome of our former, as we met with ſeveral riſings and deſcents, but more difficult of paſſage; the ſoil is hard and good, but no water; tho', from the ſize and verdure of the ſhrubs it is probable, that on digging plenty would be found.

5th.

Decamped this morning at ſun-riſing. Marched S. E. by E. one hour and three quarters; thence S. E. three hours; E. by S. forty-five minutes, and E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. half an hour, when we came again to the track or courſe of Battan Swab, which was alſo dry here. Encamped about half an hour after noon. The ſpies being returned, ſaid, they found ſome people at the river, but that they were friends; and reporting that they ſaw abundance of rain water, much nearer, and directly in our route, it was determined to go thither. A ſmall northerly breeze all day, and pretty warm; but the night cool and pleaſant. The ſoil hard and good. Land uneven, but no hills in ſight, except one running from N. E. to S. W. about a league in length, bearing north from hence, and diſtant about a mile; on the other ſide of which is, in the rainy ſeaſon, a river; but it is at preſent dry.

This evening the camp was alarmed by the appearance of nine ſtrangers; who on their firſt approach

proach we suspected to be thieves, coming with an intention to steal our camels. Our horsemen, on seeing the smallness of their number, rode out toward them with much affected bravery, and firing their pieces all the way. It proved, however, that they were friends, and come from Jursa, a small village on the river, to compliment the Sheik, and to invite the caravan thither to fill water. The merchants presented each of them with a vest of cloth.

By this evening's amplitude found the variation to be about three quarters of a point west.

6th.

Mounted this morning at a quarter past seven. Travelling E. S. E. five hours over hard stony and uneven ground, till a quarter past twelve; came then to Battan Forda, *i. e.* the Brook Farda, and encamped; there is now much rain-water here; and in the rainy season I believe it forms a pretty rivulet. A fine westerly breeze all day, and the weather very warm; but the night agreeably cool.

About four miles E. S. E. from hence is Irsa, a small Arab village, on the other side the river Euphrates; and about thirty miles thence N. E. is the city of Ursa, from which I calculate the situation of this place.

Places names in our route.	Courses.	H.	Min.
	S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	3	30
	S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	4	
	S. E. by S.	1	45
	S. E.	3	
	E. by S.		45
	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.		30
	E. S. E.	5	
From Jubil Ganam to Battan Farda, is		18	30
Aleppo to Jubil Ganam, was		78	45
Aleppo to Battan Farda, was		97	15

By

By the calculation for Battan Farda, and estimating the distance from hence to Irsa (four miles E. N. E.) and that the city of Ursa is thence N. E. thirty miles, I conclude that Ursa

			°	″	
is situated in	lat. by acct. and estimation		34	26	N.
	long. from the meridian	Aleppo	2	43	E.
		London	40	17	
is situated in	lat. by acct. and estimation		34	47	N.
	long. from the meridian	Aleppo	3	08	E.
		London	40	42	

N. B. This calculation for Ursa is not to be relied on, as the Arabs do not seem to be clear in either their course or distance from Ursa hither.

The city of Ursa is the capital of the province of Dierback, and is with good reason thought to be the *Ur* of the Chaldeans, mentioned *Gen.* xi. 31. and is perhaps one of the most ancient cities in the world.

The Mahometans who highly venerate it, on account of its being the birth-place of Abraham, tell a great many marvellous stories about it, one of which is as follows.

" They say Abraham's father was a gross ido-
" later, and being a statuary by trade, used to
" carve idols for Nimrod. His son had frequent-
" ly, in vain, expostulated with him, on the ab-
" surdity of worshipping gods he had himself
" made. One day he took the opportunity of
" the old man's absence, and broke and defaced
" his whole stock in trade. The father, on his
" return, finding his deities in this mutilated
" state, enquired into the cause; when Abraham
" answered him, he supposed they had quarelled
" and treated each other in that rough manner.
" The father, enraged at this sarcasm, and right-

" ly

" ly gueſſing at the author of the ſacri-
" lege, complained to Nimrod, who ordered
" Abraham to be ſeized, and thrown from a place
" raiſed on two high pillars, into a great fire;
" which was accordingly executed. When God
" immediately changed the fire into a pond of
" water, and the billets of wood into fiſhes; ſo
" that Abraham fell into the pond, without re-
" ceiving the leaſt injury." The pond is large and full of fiſh, which are very tame; no one daring to take them, they being held ſacred to the memory of Abraham.

I aſked ſome Jews of the caravan, whether they believed this ſtory? They anſwered, they had a tradition to the ſame import.

At noon many people came from Urſa. As the camp was too far for any ſupply of proviſion, their numbers made us keep a good look out, as on all occaſions, power and right are with them ſynonymous terms.

Here a great fat fellow, a Sheik (*i. e.* ſquire or gent.) came to our tent in ſearch of a doctor. I felt his pulſe, and finding it feveriſh, preſcribed bleeding; but having no lancet amongſt us, our barber, with a ruſty razor, made a large orifice, or rather a hole, which with great difficulty was afterwards cloſed. After the operation he ſlept for about three hours, got up, broke wind, eat a large diſh of pillaw, and found himſelf perfectly recovered. Had my friend Dr. Ruſſel ſeen him eat, I am perſuaded he would admit my knowledge in Therapeuticks.

7th.

Proceeded this morning at eight, and directed our courſe S. E. two hours and a quarter. Thence

S. E.

S. E. by S. half an hour to avoid ſome riſing ground; then E. S. E. two hours, and E. by S. one hour; when we paſſed a valley between ſome hills E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ one hour; then turning in the direction of the valley two hours, encamped about three quarters after four in the afternoon, in a low valley, not quite a mile broad, between the *Hills Manelyal* (i. e. *Hills of Defence.*) A fine weſterly breeze all day, with ſerene pleaſant weather, the night agreeably cool. The country hilly, the ſoil hard and barren, and no water.

8th.

Mounted this morning at ten minutes after ſix; travelling E. by S. one hour and a quarter; the E. S. E. three hours and three quarters; E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. two hours, and E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. three hours. At ten minutes paſt four encamped in a bottom, called Jacabjamus, or Buffaloe's Hole.

A ſmall breeze at weſt all day, with cool cloudy weather. Soil, &c. as before. No water.

9th.

Decamped this morning at ſeven, our courſe was E. S. E. three hours; E. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ one hour and a quatter; then E. S. E. three hours and three quarters; then went down a deep deſcent into a plain; from whence we kept E. S. E. two hours; S. E. by E. one hour; and S. E. by S. another hour. At four this afternoon encamped.

A ſmall freſh breeze, ſoutherly all day; with dark cloudy weather; the ſoil hard, the country level. No water.

10th.

Mounted this morning at ſeven; our courſe E. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ one hour and a half; then going round ſome riſing grounds, kept S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. two hours

and a quarter; when we arrived at Oglet Haran, *i. e.* Kot of Haran. Encamped in a low bottom ſurrounded by hills.

This valley is about one mile broad, and two long; in the middle of it are ſeveral large buſhes, and many wells of indifferent Spaw water. There are a number of graves, with cut ſtones on the hill, on the ſouth-eaſt ſide, which make it probable it was formerly inhabited. There are alſo ſeveral others of later date on the hill, on the north ſide of the valley, which I imagine were made for paſſengers belonging to the caravans, who died in their paſſage. Haran is the antient name of this place, and Oglet, a Knot or Knowl, was probably derived from a hillock, reſembling a knot on the highland on the ſouth ſide, which appears, as in No. 5. on the top are great heaps of ſtone, but no ſigns of any building.

The name of this valley reminds me of the Haran of Abraham and Laban; and there is reaſon from different parts of ſcripture (which I ſhall mention after I have found the ſituation of this place) to believe their dwelling was ſomewhere hereabout.

Names of the places in the rout of the caravan.

	Course.	H.	Min.
From Battan Forda to Mancayal,	S. E.	2	15
	S. E. by E.		30
	E S. E.	2	
	E. by S.	3	
	E.N.E.¼N.	1	
Mancayal to Jacabjamus,	E. by S.	1	15
	E. S. E.	3	45
	E. ¼ S	2	
	E. ¼ N,	3	
	E. S. E.	5	
Jacabjamus to Oglet Haran,	E S.E.½E.	1	
	E. by S.	1	
	S. E. by E.	1	
	S. E. by S.	1	
	E. ¼ S.	1	30
	S. E. ¾ E.	2	15
From Battan Forda to Oglet Haran, is		34	30
Aleppo to Batton Forda, was		97	15
Aleppo to Oglet Haran,		124	45

According to the estimation I made at Battan Forda, the city of Ursa should be only fifty-six miles N. N. W. from hence; and I imagine Abraham and his family came thence hither; which seems agreeable to the Mosaick account in Gen. xi. 31.

I formerly thought Haran was in Mesapotamia; but on farther enquiry, believe the contrary; for in Acts. vii. 3--4. St. Stephen says, "then came "he out of the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in "Charan or Haran." By which it is evident Charan was not in Chaldea. But Hosea xii. 12. is

 more

more particular, "and Jacob fled into the country "of Syria; and Israel served for a wife, and for "a wife he kept sheep."

Hence it is plain Haran was in Syria; and father Laban, who was born at Haran, is often called a Syrian; Gen. xxviii. 5, 30, 31. Now when Jacob fled from Laban, he was only ten days in reaching mount Gilead; and could hardly march more than twenty-five miles a day, for the reason given his brother Esau, Gen. xxxi. 13. At which rate the distance from where Jacob passed the river to mount Gilead cannot be supposed more than two hundred and fifty miles; and Laban came up with him in seven days. This agrees with the distance, at about the rate of thirty-five miles a day. This was a long march with camels. But I am at a loss to determine the situation of mount Gilead, tho' by Deut. iii. 17. and Numb. xxxii. 40. it should be on the east side of the river Jordan, and about sixty miles E. N. E. from Jerusalem; and if Jerusalem be in lat. 32 : 30 N. and long. 35 : 00 E. from London. Then say

Mount Gilead is situated in lat. by account and estimation		32 : 07 N.
Long. from the meridian	Aleppo 1 : 28	E.
	London 36 : 06	E.

By which calculation Mount Gilead bears from Haran S. W. by W. ¾ W. distance two hundred and fifty-eight miles, which is near the distance supposed Jacob marched in ten days; and as any place farther to the S. E. or N. W. upon this river would much increase the distance. If I am right in my conjecture as to Mount Gilead and Oglet Haran, being on the way from Ursa to Canaan, near the river, and about the distance of Jacob's march from Mount Gilead, I am inclined to think Oglet Haran is the Haran of that patriarch.

Mahomet

Mahomet pretended to affirm by inspiration, that the Haran where Abraham dwelt was that very spot where the temple of Mecca now stands, and which the Mahometans still call Haran. If this had been true, Jacob would have had no river to pass till he came to Jordan, and must then have marched near six hundred miles with his sheep, &c. in ten days, which is impossible; besides, we read Gen. xii. 9. after Abraham came from Haran to the land of Canaan, "and Abraham journeyed going on *still* towards the *south*;" by which it appears he come from the northward; and it must be remembered Mecca lies six hundred miles south from Canaan. Therefore, I may safely conclude, Mahomet very boldly asserted a falsehood, and was influenced by a different spirit from Moses; but as this impostor generally enforced his assertions by club eloquence, few cared to oppose such forcible arguments.

11th.

Mounted this morning at half past six, course S. ¾ E. one hour and twenty minutes, then S. S. E. ¾ E. one hour, afterwards S. E. one hour, and S. E. by E three hours; then changing to E. by S. another hour, and E. one hour, through a narrow pass between high white rockey clifts, at the farther end of which lies Ain il Arnab (*i. e.* Hares Pool) where we encamped at four: I allow ten minutes for stoppages and interruption the camels met with in going thro' this defile.

The country from Oglet Haran is hard and rugged; in many parts of the road are heaps of stones, about seven feet in length, and four in breadth, which I imagine are to cover graves. The water here is of the mineral kind, having a sulphureous and disagreeable taste. A small westerly breeze all day, with pleasant weather; the night cold.

12th.

Decamped this morning at fifty minutes paſt ſix, courſe S. E. by E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. one hour; then eaſt over hard ſtony ground two hours and a half. At twenty minutes after ten arrived at Cabaſſee, where we encamped on a riſing ground.

The town bearing N. by E. about one mile diſtant, and a large moſque on the top of the hill on the N. E. at the diſtance of about three hundred yards.

Here is a deep aquaduct, cut in the rock thro' the hill, from which there is a run of water ſufficient to work a mill, of a diſagreeable ſulphureous taſte; but before it reaches the town, it is much meliorated by the earth and air.

The Arabs eſteem Cabaſſee a very ancient town, and by its many ruins, it appears to have been once conſiderable. Its preſent inhabitants conſiſts of only four hundred Arab families.

Here one-third of our caravan left us, being bound for Bagdat, and went about three hours journey further to the N. E. to Hit, where there is a bridge over the Euphrates, from which place Bagdat is about four days journey.

There are many date trees to the northward of this town, whoſe verdure formed a very agreeable proſpect to us, who were juſt come from the deſart, and reminded me of that beautiful ſimile in Pſalm 1. verſe 3.

Tho' here is great plenty of mutton, fowls, eggs and onions, yet they are not to be had without paying an exhorbitant price; for if you employ the Arabs of the caravan to purchaſe them, they conſtantly impoſe on you, and it is not ſafe to go one's ſelf, ſtrangers here being very liable to inſults. A ſmall weſterly breeze all day, with fair weather; the night cold, inclining to froſt.

Places

Places names in the carav. route.	Courses.	H.	Min.
From Oglet Haran to Ain Il Arnab,	S. ¾ E.	1	20
	S. S. E.	1	
	S. E. ¼ S.	1	
	S. E.	1	
	S. E. by E.	3	
	E. by S.	1	
Ain il Arnab to Cabassee.	East	1	
	S.E.by E¾E	1	
	East	2	30
From Oglet Haran to Cabassee		12	50
Aleppo to Oglet Haran		124	45
Aleppo to Cabassee		141	35

By this calculation, and estimating the bridge to be N. E. three hours, hence then,

Lat. by account and estimation		33	49	N:
Long. from the merid.	Aleppo	4	07	East.
	London	41	41	

13th.

Decamped this morning at seven, course S. ¾ E. one hour and a half, to avoid some high land to the S. E. which runs east and west; then S. S. E. one hour and a half, which brought us on a plain; kept S. E. by S. two hours, encamped at Ardel Mahumedy, at half after one. The country rough and stony, till we got round the hills, and then a fine smooth soil, but no water. A small breeze at N. E. all day, with dark cloudy weather; at two a squall of rain, with thunder and lightning.

14th.

Proceeded this morning at seven, course S. E. by S. one hour and a half; then S. E. ¼ S. seven

C 4 hours,

hours, when arrived at Tammel, and encamped, at half an hour after three, near a large ſpring of mineral water, ſtrongly impregnated with ſulphur, defended by an artificial mount, forty feet high; within ſome walls, on the ſummit, are ſeveral graves; at ſome diſtance the ground ſeemed ploughed, or dug up for the purpoſe of ſowing grain, but no houſes or people were to be ſeen; the ſhrubs appeared more flouriſhing than we had before met with; there was much rain-water in ſeveral places. In this day's march the ſoil was generally good, and the country level, excepting ſome gullies, or broken channels, formed by the rain water, where the ſtones were very troubleſome to the camels. At noon ſaw, at about a league to the N. E. of our rout, Ain il Gar (or the Fountain of Pitch) a bituminous ſpring, many large clods of which lay near the road. A freſh breeze from the S. E. with dark cloudy weather, and ſome ſhowers of rain.

15th.

This morning mounted at half an hour paſt ſix, courſe from S. E. to S. E. by S. chiefly S. E. ½ S. ten hours and a half; encamped at five in the afternoon at Ermach (*i. e.* Launces) near and to the N. E. of five hillocks; the country moſtly level, and the ſoil rich, but no water. A ſmall northerly breeze all day, with cloudy weather.

16th.

Mounted at half an hour paſt ſix, courſe S. E. by E. one hour and a half, and E. S. E. two hours; ſaw about a mile to the eaſtward the ruins of Guſſerah Muken (*i. e.* Palace of Muken) which, like moſt of the towns and buildings of this country, has little more than its foundations remaining. Thence

Thence we proceeded S. E. by E. one hour, came then to Ain il Baſſalin, or fountain of the eyes, a large ſpring of indifferent water. The ſoil hereabouts is hard and ſtoney; from thence S. E. by S. three hours, over a looſe black ſpoil thick ſet with high ſhrubs. At two in the afternoon encamped at Miniaphen, where are ſeveral wells of pretty good water. About two miles N. N. E. of the camp is Rachelle, a mean Arab village; and E. N. E. another called Stata, inhabited by profeſſed robbers; from the latter they brought dates to ſell to the caravan, of which I bought ſixty pounds. A ſtrong bleek northerly wind all day, with dark cloudy weather, the night cold.

17th.

Decamped this morning at ſeven, courſe S. E. by S. four hours, S. E. one hour, and S. E. by E. three hours, encamped at three.

At the diſtance of about four miles, bearing N. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. of our camp, ſtands Alcander, a large and antient fort, ſaid by the Arabs to be built by a Chriſtian queen, who, on account of the ſcarcity of ſtones had recourſe to the following ſtratagem, to procure them. She cauſed publick proclamation to be made throughout the country, that ſhe would give a load of gold for the like quantity of ſtone. On this publication a multitude of people flocked thither with their beaſts of different kinds heavily laden. The firſt who arrived was a man with an aſs, who depoſiting his load, received the ſtipulated reward.

Then the queen informed the others, that her promiſe extended only to one load, and that no more than that quantity was wanted. They, rather than return with their burdens, threw them down, by which ſhe became poſſeſſed of more than ſufficient for the completion of this fortreſs.

They

They likewise add, that this place which held out for many years, was at length taken by the following contrivance.

The Arabs having first privately lodged a number of men near the fort, ordered a small caravan slightly guarded to pass by, consisting of a number of camels, each carrying two armed men enclosed in baskets, disguised like bales of goods; the Christians sallied out, and seizing the supposed booty, carried it into the fort. At this instant the Arab party discovering themselves, seemed to prepare for an assault, when all the garrison running to the walls, gave the men hid in the baskets time to disengage themselves; which they instantly did, and seizing one of the gates, let in their comrades. Could it be supposed that the Arabs had ever read Virgil, I should have imagined they had formed the plan of this stratagem, from that of the Trojan horse.

I am confidently told, that a caravan may march from Alkander to the Ephrates in three hours; and after crossing that river, may reach Bagdat in five, so that estimating the march of a caravan at its usual rate of two miles per hour, the distance from Alkander to Bagdat is about sixteen miles.

Probably somewhere hereabouts stood the antient city of Babylon. History informs us, Cyrus took it by turning the course of the Euphrates, and making himself an entrance into the city through the deserted bed of that river. It was likewise said to be near Bagdat, which city still stands on its original foundations: If therefore Babylon was as Doctor Prideaux describes it, " a square each side fifteen miles in length, it could not have fallen very far from Alcander."

The

The name and ſituation of Alcander gave me a deſire to view it, but could not prevail on my cameller to go with me for leſs than a chequin, but my finances not being in the beſt order, night approaching, and being fearful of loſing the caravan, I did not gratify my inclination.

The country here was quite level ſoil, ſandy, and full of high ſhrubs. Plenty of water.

A freſh gale from the N. W. with dark hazy weather; at two it began to rain, and continued drizzling all night; the many guſſerahs or palaces we met with in our march, perſuades me there were formerly ſeveral petty princes in this country. Some of whom might poſſibly be thoſe who were informed of the birth of Chriſt, by the appearance of the ſtar, as mentioned in the Goſpel of St. Matthew.

Names of Places in the Carav. route,	Courses.	H.	Mi.
From Cabassee to Air il Mahumedy,	S. ¼ E.	1	30
	S. S. E.	1	30
	S. E. by S.	2	
Ardil Mahumedy to Tamell	S. E. by S.	1	30
	S. E. ¼ S.	7	
Tamel to Ermat	S. E. ½ S.	30	10
	S. E. by E.	1	30
Ermat to Ain il Basalem	E. S. E.	2	
	S. E. by E.	1	
Ain il Basalem to Maineaphen	S. E. by S.	3	
Maineaphen to Al Kander	S. E. by S.	4	
	S. E.	1	
	S. E. by E.	3	
		39	30
Aleppo to Cabassee		141	35
		181	5

Lat. by account and estimat. 32 42 N.

Long. a merid. { Aleppo 4 6 / London 42 20 } E.

By this account it is 360 miles to Jerusalem.

18th.

The caravan being obliged to halt here, in order to dry their tents, &c. furnished me with the wished-for opportunity of visiting Al Kander. Accordingly, by the persuasive argument of a dollar, I prevailed on a cameller to accompany me thither; when arming myself with a brace of pistols, I set ought at eight o'clock, and arrived at the castle about thirty minutes after nine.

The magnificent appearance of these ruins, almost persuaded me they were part of the antient Babylon.

The Arab, my companion, declined entering for fear of serpents or wild beasts; so taking a pistol

piſtol in each hand I ventured alone, creeping thro' a hole in the gate-way, which was nearly filled up with rubbiſh.

I croſſed the building over heaps of ſtones, and went out at the north gate, after which, going round it as cloſe as the ruins would permit, I counted my paces, in order to form ſome gueſs at its dimenſions.

This fortreſs conſiſts of a ſquare caſtle, ſurrounded by an envelope, or exterior wall of the ſame ſhape, caſmated and fortified with towers and turrets.

The envelope, or ſurrounding wall, is an exact ſquare, whoſe ſides face the cardinal points of the compaſs; each meaſuring ſeven hundred feet, being two hundred and fifty of my paces.

On each angle is a round tower, of about twenty feet diameter, and in the center of each ſide is another of the ſame ſize and figure; thro' theſe laſt are gates, on each ſide of which are diſpoſed at equal diſtances five ſmall turrets, of about ten feet diameter, and between every tower or turret are two arches, making in all twenty-four on each ſide of the ſquare; theſe are filled up to within one foot of the ſurface of the wall, and give it a magnificent appearance.

Moſt of the walls are near fifty feet high, and thirty thick, with loop holes for four thouſand men, excluſive of thoſe on the top of the works. Having thus ſurveyed the outer part of the envelope, I entered at the ſouth-gate to examine its internal conſtruction.

This and the other gates are only ten feet wide at the entrance, but enlarge to fifteen, and are about twenty feet high; here I ſaw a door which ſeemed the entrance into the caſmates, it was ſix feet high, and arched over, but being very dark, I could not obſerve the way which mounted to the

loop

loop holes, but imagine it was by ſtairs in the towers at the angles.

The arches over the gates are well turned, being ſegments of circles; at preſent the gates are almoſt entirely filled up with rubbiſh and looſe ſtones. The walls on the inſide are plain; next adjoining to the ſouth-ſide, is a parade of ſix hundred and twenty feet long, and two hundred and ſixty broad, affording ſufficient room to draw up ten thouſand men.

On the ſouth-ſide of the parade ſtands the caſtle which is likewiſe a regular ſquare, whoſe interior ſide is three hundred feet, fortified like the envelope with round towers at the angles, and on the center of the curtains; the interior diameters of theſe towers are only eight feet.

The only entrance into this building was from the north-gate, except at the north-weſt angle, where there has been a little door.

The inſide is divided into four diviſions or ſquares, the lower parts of which ſeems a cluſter of arches; theſe were, I ſuppoſe, the magazines, and over them the rooms for the officers, but they are all now ruined; and by the great quantity of rubbiſh which has fallen down, it appears theſe buildings were formerly very high. In the N. W. ſquare are three large arches, the middle one about twenty-five feet high; under it is a large hall, about ſeventy-two feet in length, and thirty-ſix broad. Over the entrance from the north-gate on the inſide, are three niches in the wall, and one on each ſide, where there have been images; but for its ſituation, which is to the north, I ſhould have thought it a Chriſtian altar. Perhaps the primitive Chriſtians might be wiſer than to think, that directing their prayers to any particular point of the compaſs added to their efficacy: but be this as it may, it is either the work of Chriſtians or Pagans,

Pagans, for the Mahometans admit of no images in their buildings; and as they conquered this country in the sixth century, this building must consequently be very antient, and was erected above eleven hundred years ago.

On the east and west sides of this castle are two oblong spaces or parades, each two hundred and seventy feet long and one hundred broad, and the north wall is prolonged from the N. E. and N. W. angles, till it joins the walls of the envelope.

Between the castle and the north side of the envelope is an intermural space, six hundred and twenty feet long and seventy-two broad. This may have been barracks for the troops.

At about twenty yards distant from this fortress, stood a building 360 feet long and one hundred and eighty broad, also divided into four squares; one of which is fortified with towers, the other three are vaulted stables for horses. The walls of the fortified part are of the same heighth as those of the fortress; the others are only twelve feet high. By the ruins I observed a communication from the stables to the other building.

The whole of these buildings are composed of hard brown squared stones, laid like bricks, and strongly cemented with black earth mortar, excepting the arches which are white, and seem to have been laid with lime.

Before the use of artillery, this must have been a very strong fortification, and was capable of containing a garrison of thirty-thousand men. I was told by some of the caravan, that there were inscriptions in this castle, but I met with none.

About two hundred yards from the N. E. angle of the great gate, are the ruins of a strong house built with stone and lime; and at about the distance of a mile and a half to the N. E. are other

remains;

loop holes, but imagine it was by ſtairs i[illegible] at the angles.

The arches over the gates are [illegible] [illegible]o-ing ſegments of circles; at pr[illegible] [illegible]ger, almoſt entirely filled up wi[illegible] [illegible]ing. ſtones. The walls on the i[illegible] com-joining to the ſouth-ſide [illegible] e river, dred and twenty feet lo[illegible] th many ſixty broad, affording [illegible] ten thouſand men. [illegible] only twenty

On the ſouth-[illegible] [illegible]ied in captivity, caſtle which is li[illegible] [illegible]ewhere near Babylon; terior ſide is t[illegible] [illegible]ifying my opinion of this envelope wi[illegible] [illegible]hereabouts; not that I imagine the center [illegible] any part of it, as I think it of much of theſe [illegible]; perhaps the work of the Greek or

Th[illegible]rian ſtates; for, after the deſtruction of Ba-the [illegible] there ſtill remained ſeveral large cities in wh[illegible] part of the country. The fort then might be erected for the protection of the commerce, carried on between them and Palmyra. Though the ſoil is good, and plenty of water, it is at preſent totally deſerted by every living creature, except ſerpents and wild beaſts; ſo thoroughly is accompliſhed the prophecies of Iſaiah xiii. 19, 20, 21, 22, and Jeremiah li. 29, 53.

Indeed, when I conſider the once magnificent ſtate of Babylon, its ſtupendous walls and hanging gardens, ſo pompouſly deſcribed in antient hiſtory, it ſeems little leſs than miraculous, that it ſhould be ſo totally eradicated, as not to leave ſufficient traces to determine, with any exactneſs, its former ſituation. If I was to interpret literally the prediction of Jeremiah li. 63, 64, where he ſays, "And it ſhall be when thou haſt made an end of reading this book, that thou ſhalt bind a ſtone to it, and caſt it into the middle of Euphrates, and thou ſhalt ſay, thus ſhall Babylon ſink, and ſhall not riſe from the evil I will bring upon her." I ſhould

d be tempted to ſuppoſe it ſwallowed up by
r, which is the more poſſible, as the coun-
bouts is a perfect bed of dry ſand, and
ppears to have ſhifted greatly to the
its antient channel.
le to the ſouth of the fort are two
ly artificial, and a ridge running
Theſe I take to be the foun-
now covered with ſand; but
t time to examine them, or
the ſand, could not verify my con-

noon ſet out for the caravan, which I joined by half an hour after one; I found them ſtill encamped, and determined to remain there till the next morning. On this information I repented my returning ſo ſoon.

A freſh bleak N. W. wind all day; the night very cold.

19th.

Mounted this morning at ſeven, our courſe S. by E. one hour, S. S. E. one hour, S. E. by S. two hours, S. ¼ W. one hour, S. E. ¼ S. three hours, and E. S. E. one hour; encamped at four in the afternoon on a dry barren plain, no water near us, but found enough on the road. A ſmall S. E. breeze, with dark cloudy weather; the country a barren level; our courſe this day has, in my opinion, been more ſoutherly than was neceſſary, as no impediments appeared to the eaſtward, and a ſouth-eaſt courſe would have been much more direct.

20th.

Decamped this morning at ſeven, directing our courſe S. E. by E. two hours, came to a ſteep deſcent, where are ſome hills at a diſtance reſembling buildings. On one of which to the right, called Tick de Gana, is ſaid to be water. Pro-

ceeded thro' a valley between ſandy hills E. S. E. five hours, and at two in the afternoon encamped on the plain, from which it is only ſix hours S. E. by E. to Mechadali. A ſtrong bleak north weſterly wind all the morning, with dark hazy weather, and drizzling rain; the afternoon fair; the night cold and froſty. No water here, the country barren and the ſoil ſandy. We met with ſeveral elevations on the road.

Some of our caravan told me they had ſeen the ruins of Babylon about eight hours journey eaſt of hence; but I imagine they miſtook the ruins of Cuffa for thoſe of that city; Cuffa is below Bagdat, and Babylon is generally ſuppoſed above it.

A Perſian merchant of our caravan informed me, ſome remains of the tour of Babel were ſtill to be ſeen about twenty miles above Bagdat; that it was called Nimrod, from its founder; and on this occaſion he amuſed me with the following traditional ſtory.

"That Nimrod, in defiance of the Almighty, gathered together all the people for the purpoſe of erecting this tower, and under the direction of ſeventy-two Armenian architects, the moſt famous builders of their time; when having advanced the fabrick to a great height, God was pleaſed to make each of the builders ſpeak a different tongue: this cauſed great confuſion, and ever ſince there has been ſeventy-two different languages. Finding him ſo very particular, I aſked him which were the languages then formed, but this exceeded his knowledge; however, it is not improbable that Babel was hard by Bagdat, or Bagsdeth, which, as well as Babel, ſignifies confuſion.

21ſt.

21st.

This morning the water and ſand being frozen, was obliged to wait till the ſun had thawed them; however mounted at nine, our courſe S. W. ¾ S. one hour and a quarter, then S. ¼ W. one hour and a half, over a hard, ſtony, and hilly country; thence S. E. by E. three hours, over a plain, and came to Rackma, a rockey cliff, where were ſeveral pools of rain water; ſtopped here to let our camels drink, and afterwards proceeded round the cliff E. ¾ N. three quarters of an hour, and came to another rockey craig, which joins the former, and in the rainy ſeaſon makes a large rivulet of water. About forty minutes after three in the afternoon encamped in ſight of Meched Ali, bearing E. by N. diſtant about eight miles.

Fair clear weather all day, with a bleak cold breeze from the N. W. The night froſty.

The country hard, hilly, and very barren, only in the valleys or clifts where the water runs are many large buſhes, bearing a berry of the ſize of a haw, called Zarour, having an agreeable acid taſte.

At ſun-ſet the cupels of Mechad Ali (*i. e.* a full view of Ali) appeared like a globe of fire on the ſide of the hill; that dome is ſaid to contain the corps of Ali, the Perſian prophet, and one of the four caliphs, who ſucceeded Mahomet; on which account this place is held in high veneration by all the muſſelmen of that ſect bearing his name.

This moſque has been lately repaired and adorned, at a vaſt expence, by Nader Shaw, the ſophy of Perſia, ſo well known in Europe by the name of Thamas Kouli Kahn.

The whole doom is covered with gilt copper, and the doors, windows and galleries profuſely de-

corated with gilding, azure borders, freeze work, and every other ornament ſuited to the taſte of the country.

But it is in the tomb of Ali that the eaſtern magnificence is more particularly manifeſted; which, according to an account I have ſeen written by a gentleman who viſited it, is of exquiſite workmanſhip, and ſet with jewels of immenſe value, altogether making a moſt dazzling appearance. I would fain have gone for the ſake of perſonally examining the truth of his deſcription, but was diſſuaded, on account of the great riſque I ſhould have run of being murdered, or at leaſt ill-treated, by the guardians of the prophet's tomb, who are reported to be the moſt abandoned miſcreants on earth; and, like their maſter, declared inveterate enemies to the Chriſtians, from whom this country was conquered, under the conduct of Ali and his ſons.

Names of Places in the carav. rout.	courſe.	H.	Min.
	S. by E.	1	
	S. S. E.	1	
	S. E. by S.	2	
	S. ¼ W.	1	
	S. E. ¾ E.	3	
From Alcanderto Tackde Gana	E. S. E.	1	
	S. E. by E.	2	
	E. S. E.	5	
	S. W. ¾ S.	1	15
Tackde Gana to Rackam	S. ¼ W.	1	30
	S. E. by E.	3	
Rackam to Gerſeme	E. ¾ N.		45
Aleppo to Alkandar is		22	30
Aleppo to Gerſeme is		182	35
		205	5

Lat. by account 32 08 N.

Mechad Ali is ſituate in { Aleppo 5 21 } Eaſt.

Long. a merid. { London 42 55 }

22d.

Our bedding and other equipage being frozen, and the ground very ſlippery and dangerous for the camels, we were obliged to wait till the ſun had thawed them; were forced to remain here till half an hour after nine, when we ſet out. Our courſe being S. by E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. five hours; at half an hour paſt two came to Pattan il Haſh, and encamped near a pool of rain water, the country uneven and ſtoney. A ſmall breeze from the S. W. with fair pleaſant weather, the night moderate.

23d.

This morning about four it rained hard for half an hour, but ſoon after clearing up, we ſet out at ſeven, directing our courſe S. S. E. one hour, S. E. three hours, and S. S. E. three more, came to Mugaroon (*i. e.* the ſquare) an old ruined fort on the S. W. ſide of the road, I was a mile to the eaſtward when I firſt ſaw it; I immediately diſmounted and went up to it, but the caravan being on their march, and night approaching, I had not time to make many remarks. This fort is a ſquare, each ſide about ſixty yards in length, and fortified with five round towers at equal diſtances; on the S. E. ſide is a large tank or reſervior for water, near five hundred yards in circumference, and about ten deep; the ſides faced with ſtone, and at two or three places there are ſteps to deſcend into it. On each ſide are two mounts thrown up for its defence.

I alſo ſaw a tower with many other ruins about half a mile to the weſtward, from which I imagine here formerly ſtood a conſiderable town. The Arabs ſay the caliphs of Bagdat uſed to maintain a large garriſon at this place for the protection of Pilgrims going to Mecca; alſo magazines of pro-

vision, in order to supply them for their journey. They likewise added, that there is hereabouts a well of a prodigious depth, covered with a stone, on which is an inscription in the Chaldean characters, and that there were others in the same language on the tower abovementioned: I could not examine them for reasons before assigned. Besides, the Arabs are so extremely jealous of any strangers who appear inquisitive in their researches into the antient buildings and ruins of this country, that it would be running a great risque to give a loose to ones curiosity; I therefore returned to the caravan, marching S. E. by E. two hours, at six encamped with them on a plain, where we found plenty of food for our camels but no water.

The night proved extremely cold, most of our bedding was frozen, so that our lodging was very disagreeable.

Names of places in the cara. rout.	Courses.	H.	Min.
From Gersume il Hash.	S. by E. ¾ E.	5	
Battan il Hash to Mugaroon.	S. S. E.	4	
	S. E.	3	
Gersume to Mugaroon,		12	
Aleppo to Gersume,		205	
Aleppo to Mugaroon,		217	5

Latitude by account,		31	45	N.
Mugaroon is situate in long. from	Aleppo	5	19	E.
	London	42	53	E.

24th.

Decamped this morning at seven, course variable; I judged it nearest S. S. E. ½ E. eight hours and a half. At half an hour after three in the afternoon came to Um il Hasshem, and there encamped on the plain. A small breeze from the S. E.

S. E. the day clear and pleaſant, the night cool: the country for the firſt five hours was moſtly level, the ſoil good, full of ſmall looſe ſtones, but afterwards barren, with hard gravel. No water.

25th.

Mounted this morning at ſeven, courſe variable from ſouth to ſouth-eaſt, nearly S. S E. five hours, came to ſome rain water, when after letting the camels drink, proceeded E. S. E. three hours farther, and encamped at Abilmuris, on the plain; the country in general level; ſoil barren, hard and ſtony; the weather cold and raw. A freſh breeze from the S. S. E. with drizzling rain, which being directly in our faces, made the march very diſagreeable.

26th.

A hard froſt this morning, which detained us till the ſun had dried and thawed our bedding, &c. At eleven mounted, our courſe S. E. by E. ½ E. five hours; at four in the afternoon encamped on the plain, near a pool of rain water; the country and ſoil moſtly as yeſterday, the weather dark and cloudy, with hard rain from ſun ſet to eight at night. Our conductor being informed that Sheik Gaſme, with his tribe of Arabs, four thouſand in number, lay encamped in the road near the rivers, we ſhifted our courſe more towards the deſart, in order to avoid them.

27th.

Decamped this morning at ſeven, courſe S. E. by E. two hours, E. S. E. four hours, and E. by S. four more; ſome ſoutherly turnings make me allow the compound courſe E. S. E. The country plain, ſoil hard and ſtony; a ſmall S. W. breeze, and pleaſant weather. No water.

28th.

Decamped fifty minutes after ſix, courſe chiefly E. S. E ¾ E. ſeven hours; at two encamped on the plain, where was plenty of food for our camels. A great dew this morning, with a fog, which laſted till noon; a cold north weſt wind, weather fair, and the country as before. No water.

29th.

Proceeded at ſeven, courſe S. E. by E. and E. S. E. till eleven, then rounded a hill S. W. ¾ S. half an hour, and came to Gurna, *i. e.* Corner, where we ſtopped near ten minutes, to water the cattle at a large pool, then re-aſſumed our march, courſe neareſt E. S. E. three hours and a half, came to Batten Guſſerah, *i. e.* the Palace rivulet, where we encamped near a large pool. A cold wind from the N. W. but the weather fine and clear; country hilly, the ſoil hard and ſtony.

The Arabs ſay Guſſerah, an antient palace with many ruins, is to be ſeen about four miles N. E. from hence, but I had not time to viſit them. The many Guſſerahs, or palaces, whoſe ruins we meet with on our rout, ſhows the number of petty princes who formerly poſſeſſed this country, and who were moſtly of Abraham's family; namely, the Dukes of Edom, Gen. xxxvi. and Iſhmaelites, Gen. xxv. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, with the Moabites and Ammonites, deſcendants from Lot, who drove out the Emmims and Zamzummims, Dieut. ii. 18 and 20. I take the Emmims to be the preſent inhabitants of the ſouthern parts of Arabia, the king of Muſcat ſtill retaining the title of Immim, or as they pronounce it Imaum.

Names

Places names in the carav. route.	Courses.	M	H.
From Mugaroon to Unil Hashem	S. S. E. ½	8	30
Unil Hashem to Belmuris	S. S. E.	5	
	E. S. E.	3	
Abelmuris to Gurna	S.E. by E ¼ E	5	
	E. S. E.	10	
	E.S. E. ¾ E.	7	
Gurna to Gusserah	S. W. ¾ S.		30
	E. S. E.	3	30
Mugaroon to Battan Gusserah		42	30
Aleppo to Mugaroon		217	5
Aleppo to Battan Gusserah		259	35

Lat. by account 30 49 N.
Gusserah is situate in long. a merid. { Aleppo 6 35 } E. / { London 44 9 } E.

30th.

Decamped this morning at seven, course E. S. E. ¼ E. six hours, came to Battan Amaba, where finding plenty of water, we halted to let our camels drink; then proceeded S. E. one hour, and S. S. E. another, which brought us to Battan Arah, *i. e.* Rivulet of Water, and encamped near a rocky cliff, where are many pools of rain water; the soil barren, hard and stony, the country mostly level, excepting these cliffs near the Battans. A small pleasant breeze N. W. with fine clear weather.

This being the Jewish sabbath, those belonging to our caravan remained behind, in obedience to the Mosaic law, which prohibits their travelling more than a stated distance on that day. This they had always observed, ever since we left Aleppo, commonly re-joining us in the night; they therefore, on their setting out, requested the Sheik

to

to allow them a guard, to ſtay with them till the expiration of the ſabbath, and to eſcort them to the caravan, not without hopes he would have denied their requeſt; on which occaſion the ſin would, as they believed, have been charged to his account; they were however diſappointed, as it furniſhed him with a pretence for levying ſixty or ſeventy dollars, every week, for guard money and camel hire; and he was too clear-ſighted and attentive to his own intereſt, to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity.

December 1.

Mounted at ſeven, courſe E. S. E. four hours, came to Battan Naum, where were ſeveral good pools; thence E. by S. two hours, and reached Battan Canagan, which appears as if it was a large rivulet in the rainy ſeaſon; there was at this time plenty of water; hence proceeded E. S. E. two hours, over a looſe dry ſand, covered with ſhrubs; at three encamped on the plain, the country level, with a hard barren gravely ſoil; a ſmall N. W. breeze, with fine warm weather.

2d.

Decamped at ſeven, courſe S. E. ¾ E. two hours, and E. S. E. ¾ E. four hours, came to Battan Shagare; where we encamped on the plain. Country and ſoil as yeſterday; pleaſant weather, with a gentle S. E. breeze. N. B. Several wells near the camp.

3d.

Marched off at ſeven, courſe E. S. E. ¾ E. three hours, then S. E. by E. two hours. It began to rain at ten, which encreaſing, obliged us to encamp at noon on a plain, where we were met by an expreſs, with letters from Buſſerah. Cloudy weather with rain till two.

4th.

4th.

Mounted at ſeven, courſe S. E. by E. ſix hours and a half, which brought us to Chapda, where we encamped on the plain; the ſoil ſandy, and country level, excepting ſome eminences, which we met with the laſt hour's march. A light N. W. breeze, with pleaſant weather. No water.

5th.

Decamped at ſeven, courſe E. ¾ N. ſeven hours, came to Abuan, and encamped on the plain. Our people ſeem not to know exactly where they are, and to ſuſpect we are to the ſouthward of Buſſerah. A hard barren gravely ſoil, the country level. A freſh eaſterly gale. The weather dark and cloudy, with hard rain from ſun-ſet to nine o'clock.

6th.

Moved at ſeven, courſe variable, allowed E. N. E. ¾ E. ſix hours, encamped at Indhollibee on a plain; country level and ſoil ſandy. Squally weather, the wind various.

7th.

Remained here till the Sheik had ſeen the Muſſulman of Buſſerah, who he was informed lay at Iſſabar. He (for private reaſons) being afraid of him, was determined to adjuſt matters here before he proceeded to Buſſerah, and diſcharged the caravan. A raw cold N. W. wind with clear weather; the night froſty. No water.

8th.

Mounted this morning at eight, courſe E. N. E. ¼ E. ſix hours, came to Quibda at two, and at three encamped on the plain about a mile ſouth of the town, in which there appears ſome ruins:

I was

I was told it is an antient place, but contained nothing worthy of notice; therefore not having much leisure did not visit it.

At three Mr. Brabazon Ellis, the English resident at Bufferah, accompanied by Mr F. Hanmer, surgeon, visited the caravan, and gave me an invitation to go with them to Issabier; therefore leaving my things in charge of a friend, mounted on horseback at four, course N. E. ½ E. two hours; which I compute equal to three hours march of a camel. Came to Issabier about six, where I met Mr. Hanger, another English gentleman.

9th.

This morning the caravan arrived and encamped about a mile S. S. E. of the town.

Issabier is a mean Arab town, consisting of many houses or rather huts, containing about six or seven hundred inhabitants, and appears a most dirty and wretched place.

10th.

Sent my things this morning on an ass to Bufferah, and after dinner, at about two o'clock, set out for that place, in company with the before-mentioned English gentlemen. Arrived at the English factory at five; our course being N. E. ¾ N. three hours march of a caravan: the way was belly deep in water, the roads being overflowed. Here I had the pleasure of meeting captain John Dick, who gave me the news of Bombay, and a prospect of procuring a passage with him to India.

Names

Names of Places in the Carav. route,	Courſes.	H.	Min.
	E. S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	6	
From Battan Guſſerah to Battan Amaba	S. E.	1	
Battan Amaba to Battan Arah	S. S. E.	1	
Battan Arah to Battan Naum	E. S. E.	4	
Battan Naum to Battan Canagah	E. by S.	2	
	E. S. E.	2	
Battan Canagal to Battan Shagerah	S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	2	
	S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	4	
Battan Shagera to Chapda	E. S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.	3	
Chapda to Abuan	S. E. by E.	8	30
	E $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	7	
Abuan to Indholibie	E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	6	
Indholibie to Quibda	E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	6	
Quibda to Iſſabier	E. N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	3	
Iſſabier to Buſſerah	N. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ N.	3	
Battan Guſſerah to Buſſerah		58	30
Aleppo to Battan Guſſerah		259	35
Aleppo to Buſſerah		318	5

Lat. by obſervation		30	22	N.
Buſſerah is ſituated in Long. a merid.	Aleppo	8	6	E.
	London	46	1	E.

I find by the coaſting pilot, for oriental navigation with which captain Dick favoured me, that Buſſerah is there laid down more to the eaſt than I made it; but am perſuaded it is not more from the meridian of Aleppo. And if the table of longitude in Patoun's navigation is right in the ſituation of Alexandria, then this account of the longitude of Buſſerah is perhaps nearer the truth than thoſe draughts; which I preſume were formed from journals to India, by the Cape of Good Hope. The ſituation of Scandaroon, as laid down in the general draught of the coaſting pilot, differs from that aſſigned in Patoun; but as my whole journal

journal was calculated from that table, the situation of Jerusalem should be computed by the same.

The motion of my camel would not admit of that exactness I could have wished, in estimating our course by the compass. I therefore used the more attention to correct it by different methods; neither am I certain that my allowance of seventy miles to a degree is right; as adjusting the log line to that length has never yet answered at sea.

It is a pity the gentlemen residing at Aleppo or Busserah, have not endeavoured to come at this truth; no people on earth have a better opportunity, for near either of those places may be found several hundred miles almost as level as the sea, where, by means of a theodolite and chain, proper observations might be made for ascertaining this very essential proposition.

Though this passage proved long, it did not fatigue me so much as I expected, and was I to undertake it again in the winter, which I must here observe is the properest time, I would bring both horses and camels, particularly from Aleppo, where the former may be bought at such price, as to be sold to advantage at Busserah. By which convenience, one may occasionally either ride before or stay behind the caravan, to view ruins or antient buildings; which cannot be done on a camel, and half freight for the latter, would carry water, provisions and corn for the horses. It is not amiss to caution travellers, that locks and keys are extremely necessary against the Arab camellers, who have not the greatest regard for the eighth article of the Decalogue.

On a returning passage from Busserah, you may there buy camels at about forty rupees per head, and they commonly sell at Aleppo for as many dollars, which yields a profit of near cent per cent.

cent. The hire of a cameller to look after and drive eight or ten of them, is only eight or ten dollars for the journey.

The freight of a camel loaded with five hundred pounds weight of goods is ſeven pounds ſterling, and the hire of one to ride upon about half that ſum. I paid 3 l. 5 s. or twenty-ſix piaſters, and had about two hundred weight of proviſions and effects.

This journey greatly reſembles a voyage at ſea, where good ſalt and dried proviſions are very convenient, as well as ſome hampers of European liquors; firing is to be met with in great plenty, and with a little management one need not want water. If there were a few Europeans together with good dogs and guns, they might meet with plenty of hares, which would afford them excellent food, and make the journey very agreeable.

I found the weather not to be complained of, and water in plenty, for which reaſon, as I before obſerved, winter ſeems to me the beſt time for croſſing the deſart. It certainly muſt be much worſe in ſummer, both on account of the ſcarcity of water, and the exceſſive heats, which at that time, and on thoſe dry barren ſands, muſt be intolerable.

But any perſon, having money and leiſure, may perform this journey much more agreeably; by the way of Moſſol and Bagdat, where they will meet with refreſhments at every ſtage, and if curious in the ſurvey of antient buildings, they may hire a burſie boat, about three days journey from Aleppo, and come down the Euphrates to Buſſerah, in which track they muſt undoubtedly find many noble ruins of antient cities on both ſides the rivers.

The Arabs value themſelves highly on being a free and unconquered people; a circumſtance to be

be ſolely attributed to their poverty, and the ſterril ſtate of their country. A better ſecurity againſt the rage of conquerors, than the greateſt virtue or the moſt conſummate valour.

They are certainly a bad people, though better than the commonality of Egypt and Turkey. There is no danger of being ill treated by them in the caravan, farther than a few inſolent freedoms they think themſelves juſtified in taking, on the ſtrength of being Mahomet's countrymen, on which account they conclude themſelves ſuperior to the reſt of mankind.

Buſſerah is ſituated on the ſouth ſide of a creek, running W. S. W. from the Euphrates; the body of the city being about two miles from that river. It is a place of great trade, and the only ſea-port for Aſſyria and great part of Arabia; it carries on beſides a conſiderable commerce with Syria, by means of caravans, from Aleppo and Damaſcus.

The tide flowed here about N. E. by E. and S. W. by W. being high water at three quarters after three, and riſes near five feet perpendicular in the creek, which is freſh water. And if in the hands of induſtrious people, might be made to convey goods to every houſe, by means of canals, this would render it both a commodious and agreeable place.

The country near the river is extremely fertile, capable of producing every neceſſary in great abundance, were the natives inclined to tillage and improvements. But their ſcandalous indolence render theſe advantages uſeleſs; their whole huſbandry being confined to the planting of dates, which requiring but little trouble, they raiſe in great plenty, ſo that proviſions in general are very dear; their wheat and rice being brought from India and Perſia at a vaſt expence.

This

This city was formerly ſurrounded by a wall, which being only clay, is moſtly broken down and ruined. The houſes are very mean, being generally built of the ſame materials, as they have neither wood or ſtone, but what is tranſported from India.

It is at preſent governed by a Muſſulman, appointed by the baſhaw of Bagdat, who is ſubordinate to the Grand Seignior, but has now made himſelf almoſt independant. There is alſo a captain baſhaw who commands the marine, conſiſting of galleys, kept here for the defence of the place; I ſaw one of them which was very large, in a dock at the captain baſhaw's houſe, about two miles below the town, where the creek joins the Euphrates, which is there about a mile broad.

Since I have ſeen Buſſerah, I am not ſo much urprized that the ruins of Babylon, and ſome other ancient cities are no where diſcovered; becauſe it is highly probable, they never had a ſufficiency of wood fit for building, or burning bricks, and in many places a ſcarcity of ſtone; therefore I imagine the antients did as the moderns now do, that is, generally build with clay. Should any viciſſitude of fortune at this time depopulate Buſſerah, its ſituation in a few ages would no where be traced; as its ruins would ſoon be levelled by the rain, and covered with ſand from the deſart, which poſſibly was the fate of thoſe ancient cities before mentioned.

Buſſerah I take to be the Buxrath mentioned in Iſaiah xxxiv. verſe 6. Jeremiah xlviii. and xxiv. Iſaiah lxiii. and iv. Geneſis xxxvi. verſe 33. Jeremiah xlix. 18 and 22. Amos i. 12. I do not mean the preſent city which is of later date, or the old one whoſe ruins are to be ſeen on an iſland

S. E. thirty miles hence, from whence the people removed for fear of the Portuguese, who were then formidable. But the province of Busserah and cities already mentioned, which I apprehend stood hereabouts, whose total demolition accomplished the prediction of the Prophets.

FINIS.